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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

LAWRENCE J. LEE, JR.

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CHINA REPORT  
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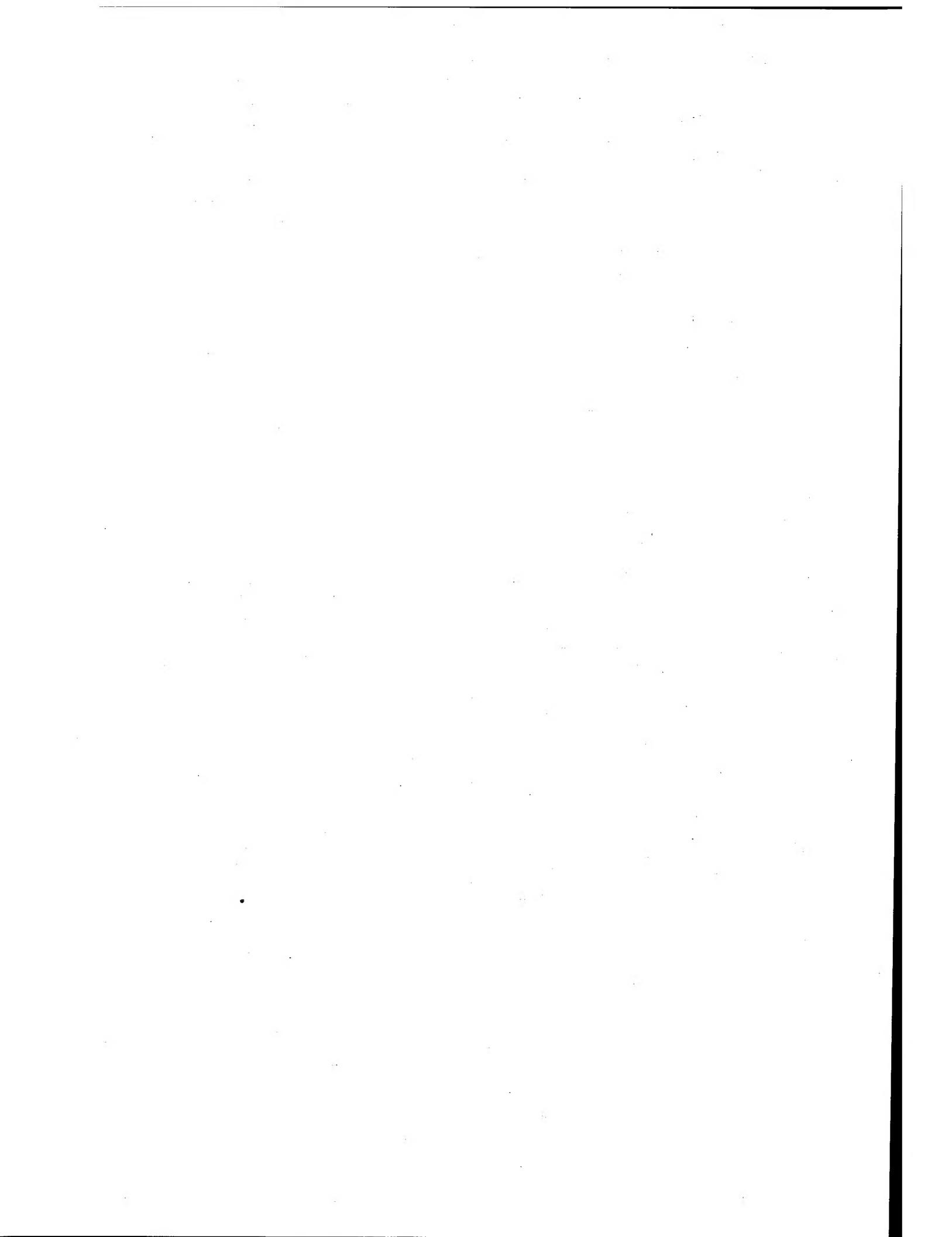
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## U.S.-SOVIET DISARMAMENT TALKS REVIEWED

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 3, 20 Jul 86 pp 24-30

[Article by Zhou Jirong [0719 4764 2837] and Huang Tingwei [7806 1656 3555]: "U.S.-Soviet Disarmament Talks and the Developmental Tendency"]

[Text] Since the United States first succeeded in the atom bomb test in 1945, mankind has entered a brand-new nuclear age. Out of the need to struggle for supremacy, the United States and the Soviet Union have for decades competed in the development of nuclear arms and contended for nuclear superiority. Nuclear arsenals have grown ever more bloated, nuclear arms have advanced in quality, and the power of destruction has risen ever higher, seriously endangering the survival of peaceful peoples in the world. While disarmament talks have never ceased, they have not checked the growth of nuclear arms. On the contrary, nuclear competition is continuing to escalate at an irreversible momentum. How to halt arms competition and make the two superpowers hold earnest and sincere talks, in order to achieve disarmament agreements on large-scale reductions has become a major issue of common concern to the world. In addition to world peace and tranquillity, it also has a bearing on the presence or absence of a peaceful international environment for China's four modernizations program.

## Course of Disarmament Talks

Postwar U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks have undergone roughly four phases.

During the first phase, from the bombing of Hiroshima to 1957, the United States and Russia held disarmament talks within the UN Disarmament Committee. They each made many proposals, and the two most important ones were as follows: One was known as the "Baruch Plan," named after Baruch, U.S. representative to the UN Security Council. The main points of the plan were: Create an "International Atomic Energy Development General Office" in charge of atomic energy production and halt the manufacture of atom bombs; punish violators and deprive them of veto power; inspect the implementation of agreements; and eliminate atomic arms under this premise. The main substance of the other, a counter proposal made by Gromyko, the Soviet representative to the Security Council, was: Immediate destruction of all existing nuclear arms, and a halt to the production of atomic weapons;

no deprivation of veto power and no on-site inspection, on the grounds of gross interference in a country's internal affairs. The two stands were diametrically opposed, reflecting the struggle at the time between preserving and breaking the atomic monopoly. In November 1957, conflicting sharply with the United States on the issue of expanding membership on the UN Disarmament Committee, the Soviet Union withdrew from the committee, and the U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks within the UN came to an end.

In the second phase, from 1958 to the end of the 1960's, the two superpowers began to hold disarmament talks on their own. They reached two important agreements: One was the "Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty" signed by the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. The treaty only banned "tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater (including territorial waters and high seas)," but not underground. Targeted at China and France, France incisively pointed out: Out of "common interest," the United States and the Soviet Union have joined hands to deal with other countries. The other agreement was the "Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear Proliferation" formally approved the two superpowers in 1969. Its main substance was that treaty nations in possession of nuclear arms may not transfer them to "any recipient," and treaty nations not in possession of nuclear arms may not possess nuclear arms and must accept "nuclear inspection." The treaty only restricted horizontal proliferation, not vertical, namely, only restricting others but not themselves. As with the previous treaty, its purpose was to strengthen the monopoly of the two superpowers.

In the third phase, from the end of the 1960's to the end of the 1970's, the two superpowers began to hold disarmament talks in terms of a nuclear arms freeze or limitations in certain realms within themselves. In 1972 and 1979, the two sides successively reached two agreements limiting offensive strategic weapons (SALT I and II). These were the most important postwar disarmament agreements on controlling for the first time the two superpowers' own nuclear arms. The main background was that Soviet offensive strategic arms had developed at an amazing speed, to the extent of rivaling the United States, with the tendency of surpassing it; therefore, the two superpowers had to decide on a "balance of power" principle. The United States had already frozen the numerical growth of strategic weapons and had begun to enter the period of focusing on quality, and the Soviet Union had started the development of multiwarhead missiles, giving priority to quality. SALT I was mainly a numerical freeze of offensive strategic weapon at the status quo, giving the Soviets higher limits on land-based and submerged intercontinental missiles and nuclear missile submarines than the United States, while the latter offset the former's numerical superiority by its higher quality. SALT II contains numerical limitations on the means of delivery of multiwarheads and stipulates that each use its own "national technical means" (spy satellites) for nuclear inspection. But the treaty does not prohibit the development of new nuclear arms, nor restrict their renewal and replacement. It even permits the addition of a new intercontinental missile at the end of 1985. Thus, both SALT I and SALT II only limit outmoded nuclear weapons and pose no obstacle to U.S.-Soviet competition in new realms. Other major superpower disarmament agreements during this phase included the "Treaty on Limitation of Underground Nuclear Tests," and "Treaty on the Peaceful Use of Underground Nuclear Explosions."

In the fourth phase, from the beginning of the 1980's to date, the two superpowers started talks in two fields, which were expanded to three, on package arms control. One field was the strategic nuclear arms talks beginning in March 1981. Reagan called it "strategic arms reduction talks." In place of the Carter administration's strategy of freezing, he shifted to large-scale reductions of strategic missiles, targeting the Soviet Union's superiority in land-based intercontinental missiles, while the Soviet Union insisted on a freeze in order to preserve its numerical dominance. Because of the sharp divergence, the talks broke down in November 1983. The second field, started in March 1982, involved talks on medium-range nuclear arms. The United States insisted on deploying on schedule Pershing II cruise missiles in Western Europe, in order to achieve parity with the Soviet SS-20's, while the Soviet Union wanted the United States to cancel its deployment plan, in order to preserve its own dominance, thereby leading to the suspension of talks at the end of 1983. Started in March 1985, the third field was the package talks including space weapons. After five rounds to date, no substantive progress has been made, and both sides are still at the stage of proposals and counterproposals.

#### Disarmament Talks and the Arms Race

1. Disarmament talks and the arms race are a pair of twins. Talks should be for the purpose of checking the horizontal growth and vertical escalation of the arms race, namely, limiting and reducing the numbers of existing weapons, and controlling their quality improvement and the research, manufacture, and deployment of new weapons. Vociferously advocating disarmament in words, the two superpowers actually pursue the policy of negotiating from strength, using strength as the backing and chips. They feel that the more chips they have, the stronger their position, thereby forcing concessions from the opponent. Thus, both sides compete in developing new weapons prior to talks in order to reinforce their position, wage fierce contests during the talks, striving to reach agreements favorable to themselves, and try to surpass each other after the talks and immediately start on a new race. Their talks deviate from the original purpose, not only failing to control arms but leading to arms races. Conflicting with each other to start with, talks and arms races have actually been turned into a pair of twins mutually promotive and mutually complementary.

The United States and the Soviet Union each has its own philosophy of negotiation. Their commonality is: To reach an agreement, they must possess more nuclear arms, especially new weapons. The absence of such backing will lead to disadvantage for oneself and advantage for the opponent. For this reason, even if they are sincere in seeking arms control, they must possess strength as the base and raise the asking price, for otherwise it will be impossible to reach an agreement which is not disadvantageous to either side and provides equal security.

In this sense, the talks have become a fuel of the arms race. However, when the arms race develops to a given stage, the need to limit certain nuclear weapons through negotiation and formulate certain rules of competition based on the principle of equal security often arises.

In terms of the history of disarmament talks in the 4 postwar decades, there have been roughly three situations in the formulation of rules of competition: 1) Both sides have reached the saturation point in their nuclear experiments in a certain field, and need to shift to a new one. Under the 1963 treaty on a partial nuclear test ban, for instance, the two sides formed an agreement to halt atmospheric and underwater tests, but placed no limit on underground tests. Naturally, the treaty was mainly directed at third countries in order to maintain U.S. and Soviet nuclear monopoly. 2) Both sides have progressed to the stage of shifting the focus from quantity to quality. SALT I and SALT II in 1972 and 1979 set ceilings on the numbers of nuclear weapons which neither side had the intention to develop further, but placed no limit on multiwarheads, which both sides needed to pursue vigorously, and the qualitative contest was legitimized in the form of a treaty. 3) Both sides agree on a temporary "truce" in the form of a treaty on fields of contest which neither side has the capacity or the need to develop for the time being, for example, the 1972 antiballistic missile treaty. The rules of the contest discussed above are beneficial to both parties, serving to demonstrate sincerity in disarmament and hoodwink world opinion, while also removing fields needing no development and focusing manpower and materiel in fields with the greatest need for development and cloaked under legitimacy. The rules of the contest, in the final analysis, serve the arms race.

2. The progress of disarmament talks has always lagged behind the escalation of the arms race. According to incomplete statistics, in the past 2 decades or more, the United States and the Soviet Union, by means of many rounds of talks, have reached 12 disarmament agreements and approximately 10 multilateral treaties. Compared with the rapid escalation of the arms race, these treaties and agreements have lagged far behind. As proved by the facts, disarmament talks are far outpaced by the development of weapons. The more talks are held, the more advanced are the weapons, the more problems have to be solved, and the more people feel concerned and disturbed. Tracing the cause, we find the following reasons: First of all, the two superpowers lack sincerity in their talks. Instead of arms limitation, the goal pursued by them is dominance. The site of talks becomes another arena of fierce rivalry, and the belligerents regard the talks as another form of war. Next, due to the differences in military organizations and weapons compositions and the major divergences on such issues as the definition of weapons, the determination of their functions, and the means of achieving parity, the two sides argue endlessly, turning the talks into a protracted marathon course of bargaining back and forth and lengthening their cycles. Thirdly, the development of new technologies is not restricted or limited by the talks. With the development of technology, the cycle of weapons renewal gradually shortens, thereby increasing the difficulty and prolonging the cycles of talks. As a result, the momentum of quality improvement and numerical growth far surpasses the momentum of the talks. Fourth, each round of talks leaves ample margin for new arms races. The end of talks is often the start of races. Under this situation, it is impossible for disarmament talks to keep ahead of the arms race, or even to synchronize with it.

3. It should be admitted that to date disarmament talks have achieved certain results. Among the extremely limited results, except the "Treaty To Ban Biological Weapons" which truly belongs in the realm of the prohibition and destruction of weapons, most are in the nature of a freeze and limitation, not a reduction. Besides setting ceilings on the number of various intercontinental missiles, SALT I, the first postwar U.S.-Soviet agreement to freeze nuclear strengths, included bans on the development of certain types of weapons and restrictions on expansion in outer space and on the seabed. SALT II makes additional restrictions on the quality improvement of intercontinental missiles, permitting each side only the flight test and deployment of a new type of light intercontinental missile, prohibiting the development of new heavy intercontinental missiles, and limiting for the first time the "vertical" proliferation of nuclear warheads. But to date, the "Treaty on Limiting Antiballistic Missiles Systems" is the only agreement placing certain limitations on new weapons. It stipulates that both sides agree not to develop, test, or deploy sea-, land-, and space-based or mobile land-based antiballistic missile systems (Article 5); both sides may not deploy nationwide antiballistic missile defense systems or bases of such systems (Article 6); and so forth. Such stipulations cannot but restrict the U.S. "Star Wars" program, and rumors spread time and again by the U.S. government and public about revision of the treaty also illustrate this point. Of course, both sides are in fact exceeding the limitations by violations and launching wars of words to accuse each other of violations.

However, it is conceivable that without the restrictions of this treaty, it is highly likely that the United States and the Soviet Union will freely promote strategic defense systems; it is also conceivable that without the restrictions of the treaty and agreements discussed above, the pace of the U.S.-Soviet arms race will accelerate and gain greater momentum. The 1970's saw an upsurge of talks and dialogues and produced the highest number of disarmament agreements in the postwar era. One should say that they produced a certain effect in easing the atmosphere and relieving tension.

#### Background of New Round of Talks

The 1985 resumption of disarmament talks stemmed from the needs of both sides.

In terms of strategy, the United States and the Soviet Union are in a period of readjustment. Since taking office, Reagan has always focused on economic and military strength. After 4 years of endeavor in his first term, he declared that the United States had ended the "period of weakness," recovered its "image as the world leader," and reversed the unfavorable balance of power of the 1970's, and he proceeded to propose a "higher realm" for the United States during his second term. His main purpose is to accelerate the "Star Wars" program, build a set of defensive-offensive systems, strive to break down the balance of power based on "certain mutual destruction," and regain dominance. The main difference of the "Star Wars"

from weapons development programs of the past is: It is an economic and technological development program as well as a military one. In addition to the arms race against the Soviet Union, it is also a race in economics and technology and a contest in overall national military, economic, and technological strengths. The program will fully develop U.S. economic and technological dominance and place the Soviet Union in a passive defensive position.

Being a long-range plan, it is still in the research stage, and deployment is remote, possibly only to be achieved at the beginning of the next century. According to optimistic estimates, it will be the early nineties before any deployment. Thus, at the present time, the United States mainly utilizes its already enhanced strengths and the momentum of the "Star Wars" program to implement the principle of simultaneous strength expansion and negotiation, promoting talks by strength and forcing the Soviet Union to return to the negotiating table. Precisely with this background, Reagan launched large-scale readjustments of his strategic principles, agreed to resume disarmament talks with the Soviets, and proposed time and again a summit meeting which had been suspended for 6 years. In the face of U.S. challenges discussed above, the Soviet Union resorted to various soft and hard tactics and attempted to eliminate the "Star Wars" program. However, the United States had adamantly refused to give up the program, and the Soviets are left with only one alternative--meeting the challenge. Soviet leaders give extremely serious attention to this contest in overall national strengths, feeling that it directly concerns the Soviet Union's survival and international standing in the future and that, if not properly handled, the Soviet Union may be beaten and reduced to a second-class power. For this reason, Gorbachev has proposed three countermeasures: 1) shift the emphasis of work to the domestic side and, focusing on scientific and technological development, restore the economy and enhance one's strengths. 2) Improve foreign relations, especially with the United States, from rigidity to flexibility, in order to create a peaceful international environment conducive to domestic construction. 3) Utilize talks to launch peace offensives, alienate the United States from its allies, strive for favorable world opinion, and place the United States in a passive situation. All three countermeasures are subordinate to a long-range strategic goal, and the focus is on a showdown with the United States in the next century. The specific goal is to double the national income, at an average annual growth rate of 4.7 percent, by the end of the century. The major readjustments of strategic principles discussed above were ratified by the recent 27th Soviet National Party Congress.

In terms of economics, both the United States and the Soviet Union need to reduce appropriately the heavy burdens brought on by the arms race. Military expenditures rose to \$1.6 trillion in Reagan's first term, and to \$2 trillion in his second. The recently published 1987 military budget shows an increase of \$33.2 billion over 1986 and, at \$4.8 billion, the single-item increase for the "Star Wars" program is the largest. However, the serious problem of the "six highs," namely, high deficit, high national debt, high interest rate, and so forth, exists in the U.S. economy. In 1984, just the national

debt alone was \$1.59 trillion. Growing at \$200 billion annually, it has now exceeded \$2 trillion, at an annual interest of \$140 billion or more. Under this situation, the U.S. Congress has time and again pressured the Reagan government to cut military spending. To counter the U.S. "Star Wars" program, last year the Soviet Union broke precedence to announce a 12 percent increase in military spending, a \$3 billion increase over the previous year, in order to maintain parity with the "Star Wars" spending (\$2.5 billion). Meanwhile, the Soviet economy is beset with problems. With 6 successive years of poor harvests and slow industrial growth, shifting from the high rate of growth of the past to low rate of growth, with its scientific and technological levels lagging far behind the United States and the Soviet Union though vociferously proclaiming its determination to oblige the United States in the arms race to the finish, is actually fierce of mien but faint of heart, and finds its capacity falling short of its wishes.

In terms of allies, both the United States and the Soviet Union are hamstrung by their own allies. Whether Eastern or Western Europe, they all object to the escalation of the superpower arms race and are unwilling to become its victims, especially East and West Germanies, which refuse to serve as pawns of the superpowers. Mitterrand openly opposed the U.S. and Soviet promotion of "super-weapons" and appealed to both sides to "begin earnestly the progress of disarmament." On behalf of France and West Germany, Mrs Thatcher suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union form a "good arms control plan." Ceausescu also time and again demanded that the two superpowers cease weapons deployment in Europe. The constant contact between Eastern and Western Europe has produced an influence on the superpowers and propelled them to sit down and "talk earnestly" in order to break the disarmament stalemate and restore Europe's stability. To please and appease their own allies, the two superpowers have to consider their wishes.

In terms of public opinion, both sides hope to display the banner of talks, and neither wishes to accept the responsibility of escalating the arms race.

#### Divergences and the Potentials of Agreements

Under the background discussed above, the superpowers resumed the Geneva disarmament talks in January last year. Both sides vied with each other to dish out disarmament suggestions, especially the Soviets. Gorbachev twice made all-inclusive proposals, encompassing almost all the important proposals in the past. In this battle of disarmament proposals, the Soviet Union has taken the initiative, while the United States is in a passive position.

Compared with the past, the Soviet proposals contain new substance:

- 1) Clearly proposing a time timetable and goals (involving all nuclear countries and all nuclear weapons); 2) agreeing for the first time that the United States and the Soviet Union will be the first in reducing arms;
- 3) listing for the first time the SS-20's among weapons to be "completely destroyed," abandoning the demand to maintain a balance with the nuclear strengths of Britain and France, and proposing direct independent talks

with these two countries (subsequently, due to their objections, changed to demanding that Britain and France "not expand" their nuclear strengths); 4) abandoning the principle of interlinking" between strategic, medium-range nuclear and space weapons, and consenting to independent agreements on medium-range weapons; 5) raising the extent of reduction from the former 25 percent to 50 percent, and agreeing to exclude U.S. forward based weapons from the new strategic weapons agreement; 6) implying consent to basic research on the U.S. "Star Wars" program; and 7) giving unequivocal consent for the first time to on-site inspection of the implementation of disarmament agreements, thereby retreating from its consistent stand of inspection by means of its own technological means. It shows that the Soviets had made concessions to the United States in many respects. Likewise, the United States has also made some commensurate compromises with the Soviet Union, for example, abandoning the "zero plan" and agreeing to limiting the number of medium-range missile warheads to 450. On the surface, there are commonalities between the two sides in at least three areas: each side reducing its nuclear weapons by 50 percent; limiting the number of nuclear warheads at 6,000; and separating the discussions on medium-range nuclear, strategic nuclear, and space-based weapons.

Nevertheless, checking their proposals against each other, one finds that divergences on some key issues remain the same: 1) At the U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in November last year, Gorbachev agreed not to include in the joint statement the ban of the "Star Wars" program as a prerequisite to the reduction of nuclear arms, but now he has returned to his consistent stand of the past and declared that only an agreement on the total "ban on the research, testing, and deployment" of outer-space weapons will make it possible to reduce strategic nuclear weapons by 50 percent. It is widely divergent from the U.S. insistence on the "Star Wars" program and on separating outer-space weapons which "can reach the territory of the other side" be included as strategic nuclear weapons, while America continues to hold that the definition of strategic nuclear weapons is determined according to type and function, not by location of deployment. If the Soviet definition is followed, the extent of U.S. reductions will far exceed the Soviet reductions--something absolutely unacceptable to the United States. 3) Both sides have proposed the substance and scope of reductions favorable to themselves and unfavorable to the other. The Soviet Union wishes to limit, for instance, a certain type of land- or sea-based missile warheads to 600 on each side, aiming at reducing the dominant U.S. submarine missiles, while the United States proposes to limit the dominant Soviet land-based missiles and exclude submarine missiles. The purpose of the Soviet proposal to ban the deployment of new-model strategic nuclear weapons, for instance, is to limit America's MX and "Midgetman" missiles, not its own SS-24's and SS-25's, while the U.S. proposal is the opposite. 4) The Soviet Union wishes to use its SS-20's, superior in both number and quality, to maintain a parity with British and French nuclear strengths, but it is opposed by the United States, Britain, and France.

Thus, still juggling proposals against proposals and waging a battle of disarmament plans, the Soviets and Americans have not changed their basic stands, nor do they have the sincerity to push disarmament one step ahead. Their basic intent has not changed; they are still trying all possible ways to limit and weaken the other side and preserve dominance in their original fields. As for the Soviet Union, it has another important goal: to use medium-range and strategic nuclear weapons as chips in exchange for U.S. abandonment of the "Star Wars" program.

In regard to the potentials of disarmament agreements in the fields of outer-space, strategic nuclear, and medium-range nuclear weapons, there are various assessments in the West. They are analyzed as follows:

1. If the medium-range missile issue in 1983 was once the focus of U.S.-Soviet contention, then today's strategic defense system has in fact replaced it as the new focus. Currently the two sides are sharply opposed on the strategic defense system, and the rift is difficult to bridge. Though the Soviets agreed to "laboratory tests of anti-missile research" in its new proposal on 11 June, Gorbachev, in his 15 January 1986 proposal, clearly declared that "no strike weapons should be deployed in space" and that it is necessary to "create the most stringent supervision, including opening pertinent laboratories for inspection." The purpose is still the elimination of the U.S. strategic defense program. The United States ignores the Soviet attitude, whether it has changed or whether it is soft or hard, and consistently refuses to relinquish its strategic defense system. The day after the Soviets made their proposal on 15 January, Weinberger declared: "The Reagan administration is determined to implement its strategic defense program." Reagan has also announced time and again that the United States will continue research in the strategic defense system, and absolutely give no "veto power" to the Soviets. In essence, the two superpowers both regard the contest in outer space as the key to the rise or fall of their own strengths and the gain or loss of their strategic dominance; therefore, there is little room for maneuver. However, after fierce bargaining, the two sides did not rule out the potential for compromise by imposing certain limitations in the areas of, first, basic research and then certain temporarily nonessential projects in their research plans or anti-satellite weapons systems.

2. In a situation where the United States absolutely refuses to abandon the "Star Wars" program, it is impossible for the Soviet Union to make drastic unilateral reductions of its offensive nuclear weapons. On the contrary, to counter the "Star Wars" program, the Soviet Union is in the course of vigorously developing its fifth-generation intercontinental missiles (SS-24's, SS-25's), new-model strategic bombers, and long-range cruise and submarine strategic missiles. Meanwhile, the United States is extensively pursuing the renewal and replacement of strategic nuclear weapons. The coming 5 to 10 years will be an important period in the two superpowers' rivalry in the development of strategic nuclear arms. The "Star Wars" program will not only fail to make offensive strategic nuclear weapons obsolete, but will stimulate their development to a higher level and

propel both sides to enhance their capacity to survive and to break through each other's defenses. Though currently both sides have expressed their intent to balance downward (50 percent reduction), their stands are actually far apart. If the Soviet plan is followed, the United States has to cut 430 items more than the Soviet Union has to; if the U.S. plan is followed, the Soviets would have to reduce 150 items more than the United States has to. It is difficult to conceive that an agreement can be reached under this situation in the near future.

3. Relatively speaking, the U.S.-Soviet divergence on medium-range missiles is smaller than in the two fields discussed above. Both sides also admit that their stands in this aspect are relatively close and consider it the breakthrough in achieving bilateral disarmament. Russia has abandoned its 1983 stand on medium-range missiles, returned to, or is approaching, the U.S. "point zero plan" and proposed the total destruction of medium-range missiles in Europe in 5 to 8 years. The United States has made the counterproposal of total destruction of medium-range missiles within 3 years. On the surface, the potential of a breakthrough on the medium-range missile issue is very strong, and the superpowers have also hinted at the possibility of reaching a temporary agreement. However, there remain many divergences on both sides: 1) The Soviet proposal, pinpointed at the British and French nuclear weapon modernization plan (doubling their strengths to 1,232 warheads by 1990), that Britain and France refrain from expanding their existing nuclear weapons and that the United States refrain from transferring medium-range nuclear weapons to these two countries, has encountered the flat rejection of Britain, France, and the United States. 2) Pinpointing the Soviet evasion of the medium-range missile issue in Asia in its proposal, with the intent of preserving its 135 SS-20's there in order to match U.S. Asian nuclear strength, the United States has proposed that the focus be on a "global scope" and that medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and Asia be reduced simultaneously. The Soviet Union has indicated that it is unacceptable. (Note: Its new proposal on 11 June indicates that it is willing to freeze the number.) 3) Concerned over the disjunction of European-U.S. defenses, the loss of the deterrent of a limited nuclear threat, and the weaknesses of their conventional forces, Western Europe has lowered its enthusiasm for the U.S.-Soviet medium-range missile agreement and increased its misgivings. Therefore, it pressures the United States to link the medium-range missile talks with the reduction of conventional forces, thereby increasing the difficulties of a solution. Thus, the medium-range missile talks will be a formidable course of endless bargaining.

The foregoing analysis shows that U.S.-Soviet differences are profound, that obstacles to the talks are numerous, and that the prospect of an agreement permits no optimism. On the other hand, both sides need to display the banner of disarmament and create for themselves an image of peace. Thus, the talks will drag on over a long time.

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SOVIET UNION

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'UNOFFICIAL' SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS ISRAEL

OW142122 Beijing XINHUA in English 1544 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Cairo, 14 Jan (XINHUA)--An unofficial Soviet delegation arrived in Israel yesterday for a visit, the first of this kind since last August, according to reports reaching here.

Nikolai Bochkov, head of the Soviet peace committee delegation, told reporters upon his arrival that the Soviet Union was to set up a committee to make preparations for the projected Middle East peace conference.

Israeli Communist Party legislator Tewfik Tubi received the delegation at the airport and expressed his hope that the visit would bring about closer relations between Israel and the Soviet Union.

The delegation will meet Israeli legislators and peace movement members.

Bochkov, chairman of the Soviet Physicians Organization Against Nuclear Weapons, was accompanied by Boris Makarenko, a senior official of the Soviet peace committee, and Konstantin Gayvandov, political commentator for the daily IZVESTIYA.

Israel and the Soviet Union had their first official but unsuccessful meeting last August after Moscow severed ties with Israel in 1967. At that time the two sides did not agree on the agenda. The Soviets wanted to discuss only a Soviet proposal to send a delegation to Israel to check on Soviet property in Israel and the status of Soviet citizens living in Israel while Israel wanted to discuss the status of Jewish people in the Soviet Union and Jewish emigration from Soviet to Israel.

The Soviet Union recently declared that it would make emigration from the country easier for those with families already living abroad. But the Jews in Israel denounced the new Soviet regulations as "propaganda."

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## GDR, JAPANESE LEADERS DISAGREE ON ASIAN SECURITY

OW140442 Beijing XINHUA in English 0213 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Berlin, 13 Jan (XINHUA)--Japanese and Democratic German leaders today agreed to promote East-West dialogue and their bilateral political and economic ties, but they differed over a Soviet proposal on security of the Asian and Pacific Region.

In their talks this afternoon, Democratic German leader Erich Honecker told visiting Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone that "in the current tense international situation political dialogue was an irreplaceable instrument of responsible policies" and "the states must practise the art of getting on well together."

"An atomic war would bring neither victor nor vanquished and must not be waged, and no-one should strive for military-strategic superiority," Honecker added.

He called on superpowers to stop the nuclear arms race, noting that the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik last October had given the nations new hope and showed that a radical turn to nuclear disarmament was possible.

Nakasone agreed with Honecker's view that political dialogue was necessary for the sake of maintaining world peace and for detente. He said, "It is very important to conduct on a long-term basis dialogue between states with different social systems and between alliances and to achieve concrete results."

The Japanese prime minister described the Reykjavik meeting as a historic event, which had not yielded results because of the U.S. SDI project, known as the "star wars" program, and stressed that Japan and Democratic Germany as non-nuclear powers should support superpower disarmament efforts.

But the two men voiced different views on the regional issue of Asian security in their banquet toasts this evening.

Honecker said he welcomes and supports Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok proposal that all Asian nations should join the Soviet Union in

establishing an Asian security forum, an arrangement similar to the Helsinki European Security Conference.

Nakasone explained to his host that while Japan appreciates the progress made by the Helsinki process, it believes similar arrangement might not work in Asia because things in this region are different from those in Europe.

Nakasone said that as Japan has pending problems with the Soviet Union and still abides by the Japanese-U.S. security system, his country cannot agree to convene such an Asian security conference.

He, however, reaffirmed that despite its rejection of the Soviet proposal, Japan still is willing to strengthen its dialogue with countries of different social systems, including the Soviet Union.

Regarding bilateral cooperation, both leaders expressed willingness to expand political, economic and cultural ties between the two countries and proposed a number of concrete steps, including the exchange visits of 50 young people.

Nakasone told Honecker he welcomed the planned visit to Japan of Democratic German foreign minister, Oskar Fischer and Tokyo is willing to conclude a cultural agreement with Berlin, adn said.

In addition, both sides are eager to step up trade, especially in chemicals and light machinery. Trade turnover stood at 181.1 million U.S. dollars in 1985 compared with a record 356.8 million U.S. dollars in 1983.

East Germany is seeking to extend its role as a leading producer of electronic goods, especially small computers, but it also needs the know-how and technology to compete in Western markets.

Repeated appeals by Honecker for swifter application of new technology reflect East Germany's concern that its centralised economy lacks the flexibility to keep up with Japan and the West.

Berlin is the second leg of Nakasone's European tour, which also includes Finland, Yugoslavia, and Poland. He leaves tomorrow for Belgrade. He arrived here yesterday evening.

Western diplomats saw the tour as part of Japan's apparent efforts to extend its influence in Eastern Europe and clear the way to better relations with the Soviet Union.

Tokyo's relations with Moscow are strained by a dispute over four islands in the Kurile chain occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II.

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CSO: 4000/72

## BRIEFS

CAMBODIAN SITUATION DISCUSSED--Bucharest, 12 Jan (XINHUA)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu today stressed the need to withdraw all foreign troops from Kampuchea. At a meeting with visiting Democratic Kampuchean leader, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Ceausescu reaffirmed that the Kampuchean problem should be settled by Kampuchean people themselves without foreign intervention, according to the Romanian news agency AGERPRES. Sihanouk, who visited Romania in 1973 and 1975, arrived here last Thursday for a week-long visit at Ceausescu's invitation. Since the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in December 1978, the Romanian government has condemned the Vietnamese military takeover of the legal democratic Kampuchean government. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0121 GMT 13 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 4000/72

CHENG MING ASSESSES CONSERVATIVES' RECENT GAINS

HK280331 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 112, 1 Feb 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Tung Fang-lung [2639 2455 7893]: "The Conservative Peng Zhen Carries the Big Flag -- first two paragraphs are CHENG MING introduction]

[Excerpts] The conservative group is attempting to force or persuade Deng Xiaoping to change his line at once, and from now on the party must completely work like an orthodox Leninist party.

Hu Yaobang has been sacrificed in order to protect Zhao Ziyang, but if Zhao Ziyang is sacrificed one day, who will be protected? Following the dismissal of Hu Yaobang, who created a good image of being enlightened, from office, the United States and Japan are taking a wait-and-see attitude. So are the businessmen of Hong Kong.

Following the "Students Movement," The Situation Takes A Sudden Change

Following the students movement, the political situation on Mainland China has taken an abrupt turn for the worse.

The evolution of the Cultural Revolution is still fresh in our minds. At first, cultural workers Wu Han, Deng Tuo, and Liao Mosha were made the first targets, then the attack was directed at the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee headed by Peng Zhen, then at President Liu Shaoqi, and finally at a large number of people.

The situation has now appeared again. This time cultural workers Guan Weiyan and Fang Lizhi, as well as Wang Ruowang and Liu Binyan, who have nothing to do with the recent students movement, were made the first target of attack, then the target was directed at the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, and then at the CPC Central Committee general secretary. If the trend continues developing in such a way, then the target will be directed at a large number of people at the lower level.

President of Chinese Science and Technology University Guan Weiyan and Vice President Fang Lizhi were first removed from office, then Wang Ruowang, one of the three who were asked by Deng Xiaoping to be expelled from the party, has been officially announced out of the party by the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee Discipline Inspection Commission.

Director of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department Zhu Houze has also been dismissed from office. It has been learned that the "extreme leftist" Deng Liqun is likely to control the Central Propaganda Department again. The newspapers SHEHUI BAO in Shanghai, and XIANDAIREN BAO in Guangzhou have been ordered to stop publication, and persons in charge of the two newspapers have been temporarily relieved from their posts for self-examination before the newspapers were ordered to suspend (head of SHEHUI BAO Deng Weizhi is the one who wrote the article "A 'Breakthrough' in Research on Marxism" for RENMIN RIBAO, an article which produced wide repercussions at home and abroad).

Earlier, the newspapers SHENZHEN QINGNIAN BAO and TEQU GONGREN BAO were also ordered to make self-examination with their leaders relieved from their posts. The two newspapers have recently been taken over by the Shenzhen City CPC Committee.

On 16 January it was officially announced that Hu Yaobang tendered his "resignation" and Zhao Ziyang became acting general secretary.

#### The Conservatives Reach Out for a Yard After Taking an Inch

According to high sources in Beijing, the chief of the conservatives Chen Yun cannot attend to business because he is very weak and is lying on his sickbed.

At present the conservative Peng Zhen, who is still healthy and vigorous, although he is 84 years old, carries the big flag for the conservatives.

It was said earlier that Peng Zhen intended, in his lifetime, to squeeze himself into the highest policymaking leadership group--the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau (at present members of the committee are Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Chen Yun, and Li Xiannian).

It is said that the challenge sent to Deng Xiaoping and the leading group of the reformers has been ringing incessantly since the conservatives won a victory at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. It seems the conservatives will "follow up a victory with hot pursuit."

In a speech delivered last November, Peng Zhen launched a strong attack and said: "Some people look down on communist ideals and assume that communism is too far away," and stressingly: "Communist ideals have been, are, and will be a moral support for communists and progressives."

In mid-December of last year, the Central Military Commission held an enlarged meeting to discuss military and political development. Chairman of the Commission Deng Xiaoping, vice chairman and secretary-general of the Commission Yang Shangkun, deputy secretary-general of the Commission and director of the PLA General Political Department Yu Qiuli, and Defense Minister Zhang Aiping were present at the meeting. That is only natural, but Peng Zhen appeared on the occasion also.

On 13 December Peng Zhen also attended a meeting called by the headquarters of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force--one of China's major public security organs. Present at the meeting were all senior leaders in charge of national security and national defense, including Vice Premier Qiao Shi, who is mainly in charge of national security, and Defense Minister Zhang Aiping. However, Peng Zhen also delivered a speech at the meeting, saying: "Opposing bourgeois liberalization is not contrary to opposing spiritual pollution and upholding the four cardinal principles." When this passage of his speech appeared in the newspapers, the name of Hu Yaobang was missing.

#### See How Deng Xiaoping Wards Off Blows

The conservatives will not let the matter drop. It has been rumored that Wan Li's standing has been shaken, and the target is being directed at Zhao Ziyang.

Can Zhao Ziyang stand firm? We may say that this totally depends on what compromise will be made between Deng Xiaoping and the conservatives, and does not depend on the choice made by the 1 billion people.

Hu Yaobang has now been sacrificed in order to protect Zhao Ziyang, but if Zhao Ziyang is also sacrificed one day, who will be protected?

The campaign to "eliminate spiritual pollution" staged in the winter of 1983 was resolutely stopped by Hu and Zhao. At that time Deng Xiaoping still had confidence in Hu Yaobang and said that even if the sky fell down, Hu and Zhao could stand up against it. As a result, Hu had more power than before. Hu said: "Spiritual pollution" was only the "noise made by very few people from the theoretical and cultural circles." Old Deng agreed, so the campaign suddenly came to a halt after about 2 months.

However, the conservatives did not take their defeat lying down. Taking the opportunity to "straighten out enterprises" in 1984 and "deal with major and serious economic criminal cases" in early 1986, they discharged a large number of reformers from their posts in enterprises, imposed fines on them, investigated them, searched their houses, and even detained them for long periods of time. Consequently, many enterprises lost money again in business instead of making profits.

In 1984 many reformist entrepreneurs "were shot by arrows and fell from their horses," but in the present struggle against "bourgeois liberalization," no doubt many reformist theorists "will be shot by arrows and fall from their horses." Zhu Houze, Deng Weizhi, Zhu Honglin, Yan Jiaqi, and Su Shaozhi are all in trouble now. Since Guan Weiyan and Fang Lizhi of the University of Science and Technology were disgraced, will Wen Yuankai be "safe"? And will Wang Meng be "safe"?

Undoubtedly reform of the political structure will be put off indefinitely, and even reform of the economic structure will be possibly altered in nature. At present, in the shareholding enterprises, the practice of changing the title of party committee secretary to "chairman of the board," and the "system

of the director assuming full responsibility" all exist in name but not in reality. In the rural areas, enterprises with share capital are gradually becoming "collective cooperatives." Thus, peasants who have enjoyed freedom only for a few years will be put on the course of cooperatives again.

Deng Xiaoping declared that opposing bourgeois liberalization will not affect the policy of opening up to the outside world. It seems this is only his own wishful thinking.

Peng Zhen also declared that "opposing bourgeois liberalization" does not go counter to "opposing spiritual pollution." The elimination of spiritual pollution once made foreign investors shrink back immediately. Will an exception be made this time?

Following the dismissal of Hu Yaobang, who created a good image of being enlightened before the world, the United States and Japan are taking a wait-and-see attitude. So are the businessmen in Hong Kong.

Hu has been removed from office but remains a member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau. This is probably a temporary tactical retreat designed by Deng Xiaoping because the conservative forces are too strong now; he has to withdraw in retreat. However, people still remember that Hua Quofeng also fell out of power step by step and in a "moderate" way too. Is Deng Xiaoping applying the same tactics? Are the conservatives employing the tactics too?

The campaign to oppose bourgeois liberalization is very unfavorable to the reformers. The campaign was personally initiated by Deng Xiaoping. If it comes to a halt right now, it means Deng Xiaoping slaps his own face. However, clear distinctions should be drawn in the course of the campaign; and it is impossible for the Central Discipline Inspection Commission to order local party committees and discipline inspection commissions to criticize "prominent figures." If the conservatives go into action throughout the country, then theorists, writers, and newly-appointed reformist cadres will all be rounded up in one fell swoop. When this time comes, Deng Xiaoping will be very isolated and will not win any support.

4768/9871  
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DISCUSSION OF PARTY COMMITTEE ROLE IN ENTERPRISES

Deng Liqun on Workload

Beijing SIXIANG ZHENGZHI GONGZUO YANJIU [IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK RESEARCH] in Chinese No 12, 8 Dec 86 pp 2-4

[Article by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028]: "Where Is the Focal Point of Party Committee Work in Enterprises?"]

[Text] Party organizations and party cadres in responsible positions have neglected party work for a long time. Why? For one, it was a question of recognition, also they were bogged down in routine work in a hectic rush and confusion, which really did not leave time for anything else. Actually, rushing about in this way in the end had the effect that no one in particular was responsible for production and no one was responsible for party work. This state of affairs has reached a stage that makes change imperative, especially following the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the subsequent development of the economy and of our various undertakings.

The main activities of enterprises are production and business operations. Organization and direction of modern large-scale production is very complex. It would of course not do to have a multitude of counsels without a main directional course, permitting everyone to do as he thinks best. On the other hand, it is people who carry out production and business operations, and the state of mind, spirit and qualities of these people have an extremely important bearing on their activities. If organization and direction of production--the work of all these people--including concerns for all aspects of ideology and livelihood, as well as for all other affairs of the enterprises were entirely to be taken care of by the party committee, if the party secretary had the final say in everything, it would be a practically impossible situation, and assuredly lead to mismanagement. If all powers were centralized in the party committee, if all management affairs were solely to be handled by the party committee, the result would be that all problems of the enterprise, large and small, would converge on the party committee. Solution of miscellaneous problems, production problems, and problems of livelihood, would then have to be referred to the secretary of the party committee, as also marriages, divorces, childbirths, admissions to child-care centers, fights, emotional outbursts, visits to sickbeds, housing, motorcar transportation, etc. Someone would always be making demands every day, at

mealtime, nighttime, Sundays and holidays. Even assuming that you are a party committee secretary who can endure hardship and is very capable, having to make a decision as soon as a question comes up, having to give an immediate opinion without time for examination and investigation, just listening to the one side that states its case, would that be a condition in which faultless work could be done? It is bound to lead to mistakes! How could there be no blunders when action is taken and problems are resolved by listening to the statements of only one side! How could there be no bias and no lapses into bureaucratic ways! With relaxation in party work and in ideological and political work, there can also be no effective production.

In the last few years, the masses have voiced many complaints against our party members and against our party cadres. We must indeed admit that there were not only one or two, but a considerable number of comrades who did not perform their duties in accordance with the party constitution, and some comrades have even shown that they were not quite clear about what the party constitution was all about and what it provided for. The overwhelming majority are good, the mainstream is good, but among criminal elements and criminal elements in the economic field we find indeed a certain proportion of party members and cadres. The effect of this is much more harmful than criminality among ordinary people.

A few years ago some places reported that in educational institutions, factories, or government organs, there are certain advanced elements who are actually not party members, also disinclined to join the party; some of them are children of cadres. We have heard of many such cases at the basic level and in Beijing. A major reason for it is the weakening in party work, a weakening of the party's ideological and political work, and the very serious phenomenon of "the party not looking after party affairs." This situation must be changed in the course of the current party rectification. The change must not only be one of mentality but also one of system. As we are instituting the factory director responsibility system in enterprises and the separation of government administration from enterprise management in the rural areas, we also have the problem of instituting a division of labor between party and administration in the governmental system. When he recently spoke of the reform of the political system, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we have been raising the question of a division of labor between party and government administration, first at the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The party must be adept at leadership. The party must not interfere in government administration, and this has to begin with the central authorities. If the issue is brought up and carried out in this manner it will not weaken the leadership of the party, because we shall firmly uphold the leadership of the party. A problem arises only if the party shows itself inept at leadership and interfering excessively, if it does not do a good job. That indeed will weaken the leadership of the party. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statement is extremely important, and we must thoroughly comprehend and implement it. We must reform all institutions that do not conform with the socialist modernizations. Changing the phenomenon of "the party not looking after party affairs," having the party organization truly take charge of party affairs, this too is an important item of our reform.

On instituting the factory director responsibility system, production, business operations, and administrative direction of enterprises must be the responsibility of factory directors. The administration and the party committee each have their particular duties and their work routines. Speaking of basic-level party organizations, being freed of routine administrative work is a kind of liberation. But this liberation does not at all mean being freed of all responsibility and lightening the burden of their duties. What is the party committee in enterprises to concentrate on after being freed of routine administrative work? Mainly on guaranteeing and supervising implementation of the various general and specific policies of party and state, on doing a good job of strengthening ideological and organizational party work in the enterprises, and on improving work style, on doing a good job in ideological and political work among staff and workers, and on strengthening its leadership in such mass organizations as the trade unions, the youth league, etc. The party committee may put forward opinions and suggestions as to major problems in production and administration. In one word, the focal point in the work at basic-level party committees must be on conducting party affairs, on ideological and political leadership, on the development of spiritual civilization, on promoting material civilization, and on the smooth development of the entire socialist construction. Doing all this will not entail a "loss of status" for the party committee, but rather a "rectification of status." Doing work that falls within one's proper sphere of duties will not leave one without scope for a manifestation of one's abilities, but will afford an opportunity to do great things. Duties are not lightened, but rather greatly increased.

The work of the party committee consists in the first place of managing the party, of being in charge of party members and party cadres, being in charge of the ideological and organizational development of the party, and in charge of party discipline. The most important point in managing the party is ideological and political work. Since the founding of the PRC, our party has been the party in power, assuming leadership in all affairs of the country. Due mainly to specific institutional defects, some of our comrades while holding power, became bogged down in routine work, thereby forgetting to some extent that the party should look after its own house. From the day of its inception, the party has never relied on power to order the masses about, but has relied on truth, persuasion, ideological and political work, the strength of good examples, raising consciousness among the masses, and on mobilizing the masses to consciously organize to fight for their own interests. Our party has been built up in reliance on ideological and political work. Ideological and political work is the work of "talking reason." Even if you represent the interests of the masses, you still must "talk reason," must be able to convince the masses, only then will people listen to you. If you are not able to convince the masses, nobody will listen to you. Not so long ago, I traveled to the Jinggang Mountains and again pondered this question. In those days, when the Kuomintang ruled the whole country, had its own army, law courts, and prisons, while we had only that small piece of land, so few people, and little military equipment, when we led a hard life, when there was, moreover, the daily threat of having to sacrifice our lives, and when there were no rewards to be gained, why did the masses follow the Communist party? Like at Anyuan, where Comrades Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and Li Lisan had all come; what powers did they have at that time? After working

continuously for several years, Anyuan was made into a little Moscow, what did they rely on? Wasn't it again reliance on ideological and political work, on their own exemplary actions, and on a wholehearted unity with the workers. There is a cordial closeness between the workers and the communist party; whatever their anxieties, pains, needs, or hopes, they will approach a party member or the party organization. Throughout the revolutionary war and during the 1950's, the fight went in whatever direction the party pointed; they would rather lay down their lives than retreat. As soon as land reform was completed, ordinary peasants would volunteer for the army, and if accepted would go to the front and gallantly fight to destroy the enemy. What, would you say, did the party rely on? Can one say it was merely power? With power, I could compel you to join the army, once in the army, you would be forced to go to the front, once at the front, you would be forced to charge the enemy. Evidently, it was not mere reliance on this! In the final analysis, it was reliance on the Communist party acting with reason, and that this reason had convinced people! They evidently carried out the struggle voluntarily! In this respect, we must, therefore, restore and develop the excellent tradition of the party. Comrade Hu Yaobang once said that there are some good and also some bad traditions in ideological work. As it was gradually practiced over the years, some good traditions were ignored and some bad practices became tradition, practices which are now very difficult to change. The matter of "looking after one's own house" was neglected, or not considered important, and as a result ideological and political work became "power-oriented." It was as if it would not be necessary to "talk reason," or as if less "reason" was needed, because one had power, and could order people about, even go so far as to "rectify" people, regardless of whether they had been convinced or not. Past lessons in that respect must be firmly remembered. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The party is not a power organization that issues orders to the masses, and neither is it an administrative or production organization." When conducting ideological and political work, we must, therefore, not rely on "ordering people about." We must not rely on this or that power, but must rely on truth to convince the people, rely on the exemplary role of party cadres, and on their patient and painstaking work to solve the ideological problems of the masses. It is on this foundation that we must organize the masses to voluntarily carry on the struggle for their own interests, as conditions of time and place will permit.

A very important task of the party committee, pointed out in the "Seventy Articles for Industry" of 1961 is, a thorough and painstaking investigation and research, penetrating deeply into the masses and into the grassroots, to gain a true understanding of the ideological problems and of the real problems encountered in basic-level work. On effectively completing this investigation and research, it will be necessary to institute precisely-aimed ideological work and put forward sharply defined opinions and suggestions. If the party committee is fully occupied with routine work, it will not be able, even if willing, to go down to the grassroots, as there will always be someone with demands, as soon as one prepares to start off, and an endless stream of affairs will be rushing in. Regrettably, the correct ideas of the "Seventy Articles" were not implemented at that time. Human nature is involved here, but even more importantly, it is a problem of the leadership system. In a system that subordinates factory director responsibility under the leadership of the party committee, the enterprise party committee has to deliberate and

handle a large amount of production and administrative routine work and will find it impossible to devote energy to the proper management of party affairs and to effective ideological and political work. Actually, after all is said and done, the most fundamental factor, be it in administrative work, in production and business operations, technical work, or in any other work, is still reliance on a good party organization, on a group of good party members, and on a group of good party cadres. We find these three conditions wherever a place or unit shows an outstanding work record. If the party committee has effectively attended to party organization, has effectively taken care of its party cadres, and has done an effective job of educating party members, there will be progress in every sphere of work. This is also one of the major purposes of instituting the factory directors responsibility system. In this matter of the factory director responsibility system, why is it that some comrades cannot get the basic idea of it and will raise all kinds of criticisms? It is because they have no true and clear understanding that after changing from a system in which factory director responsibility is subordinated to the leadership of the party committee to a pure factory director responsibility system, the function of the party committee is to guarantee and supervise implementation of policies, that they have no understanding what the factors are that make this change necessary, and no understanding of the great significance of the change for the entire country and work in all sectors. Implementing the factory director responsibility system, clearly recognizing the central position of the factory director in the enterprise, does not mean that the factory director alone has the final say in all matters. Major problems affecting the entire factory should still be settled by mutual consultation among the several parties. For instance, in production and business management problems, leaders in factories must be good at pooling the collective wisdom of all managerial personnel of the enterprise; in problems of scientific and technological development, they must be good at pooling the collective wisdom of the scientific and technological experts of the enterprise, they should also consult the organization and personnel of their "brain trust," in order to arrive at decisions in specific cases. Furthermore, major problems should be discussed by the factory management committee and the staff and workers' representative assembly, and, in addition, opinions and suggestions should be solicited from the enterprise party committee. Some comrades mentioned that a critical issue, which is decisive for effective implementation of the factory director responsibility system, is to have comrades working as administrative leaders and leaders of party committees who above all are imbued with party spirit and who uphold party spirit, without any thought for personal gain or loss. It must be said that this is indeed a fundamental point in considerations and in the resolution of problems. Fulfilling this condition, placing the interests of the party, the state, and the people above all, will make it much easier to recognize and resolve problems. In brief, we shall certainly persist in reform, in opening up to the outside world, and in revitalizing the economy, and there will be uninterrupted development of ideological and political work. Looking ahead, we see great prospects.

Hou Zongbin on Party Committee Functions

Beijing SIXIANG ZHENGZHI GONGZUO YANJIU [IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK RESEARCH] in Chinese No 12, 8 Dec 86 pp 9-10

[Article by Hou Zongbin [0186 1350 6333], deputy secretary of the Gansu Provincial CPC Committee: "Reassessing the Status and Functions of Party Committees in Enterprises"]

[Text] Implementing the factory director responsibility system requires changing the following four concepts:

1. We must change the party committee's exercise of overall unified leadership in enterprises to an exercise of ideological and political leadership. This is a fundamental change toward effective performance of party work in enterprises. In a certain sense, implementing the factory director responsibility system in itself constitutes the change from the overall unified leadership of the party committee in enterprises. Practice has proven that clear establishment of the ideological and political leadership position of enterprise party committees will improve, and not weaken, the party's leadership in the enterprises. In 1985, the Gansu Water Tank Plant instituted the factory director responsibility system and in particular discontinued having the party committee secretary take charge of all affairs. The plant instead instituted a clear division of labor between party and government and transferred to the factory director all decision-making powers in enterprise management, in administrative direction, and in employment and dismissal of intermediate-level administrative cadres, while having the party committee concentrate its energies on the study and implementation of its ideological and political leadership in the enterprise. These measures ensured the normal progress of production and business activities and created a record in economic results during the said year. However, many comrades in the enterprise party committees still remain accustomed to the overall unified leadership of the past and still concentrate all powers in the party committee. In some isolated cases they even say that having a party committee in an enterprise, in fact, means having overall unified leadership. In the process of replacing an old with a new system, there many conflicts and clashes between old and new concepts are bound to arise. It is normal, unavoidable, and nothing strange that one and the same matter should generate different concepts.

Following the inception of the factory director responsibility system, in what ways will enterprise party committees manifest their leadership in enterprises? I think an analysis of this question may proceed from three sides: First, the enterprise party committees are political and not economic organizations. They exercise only ideological and political leadership in the enterprises and must not exercise directional and decision-making powers with regard to production and business operations of the enterprises. Thirty years of experience have proven that enterprises with systems of overall unified leadership by party committees are doing badly in both their economic performance as well as in party work. Second, the party constitution demands that the fundamental tasks of the basic-level party organizations shall, briefly, consist in strengthening the "three major undertakings," which are

uniting and leading all party members and the broad masses of staff and workers, the effective creation of the "two kinds of civilization," and rendering service to the overall tasks and goals of the party. As long as these demands are met, the leadership task of the party committee is being accomplished. In the opposite case, if the party interferes excessively in production, business operations, and administrative affairs of the enterprises, while relaxing party work, it would amount to abandoning the fundamental task of the party organization and would truly weaken party leadership. Third, party leadership in enterprises must be exercised by guaranteeing and supervising the implementation of all principles and policies of party and state. If the party secretary would have final say in everything, it would be a return to the old system that did not separate the party from the government and in which the party took the place of the government. This would not only be incompatible with the demands of our reform, but would also deviate from the principle of party leadership. It would not only fail to instill vitality and vigor in enterprises, but if badly handled, could also divert enterprises away from their socialist direction. The above-stated analyses leads us, perforce, to the following conclusion: Leadership of enterprise party committees must manifest itself in ideological and political leadership and must not be "overall unified" leadership of all affairs of the enterprise.

2. We must change enterprise management from the "single hand" management by the party committee secretary to one in which the factory director acts as head of the entire factory. For a long time, the old system had determined the party committee secretary to be "the one hand" of the enterprise, and that all power in the enterprise be concentrated in the party committee, mainly in the party committee secretary. This old system is the main cause for lack of vitality and vigor in enterprises, and its reform and replacement is a necessity. However, since a certain period of transition is required for the transformation of the old system, some party committee secretaries have not yet been able to revise their concepts and are still intent on asserting their superiority by showing they are "the one hand." For instance, the secretary of a certain enterprise party committee caused ideological confusion by proposing, as an initial step, a discussion among all cadres of the enterprise of the question "Who is 'the one hand' in the enterprise? Who has more power, the secretary or the factory director?" In one enterprise, there was a party committee secretary who was given a "No 2" factory badge. This he refused and in a fit of pique took a reserve badge, saying that he was a "supernumerary employee." This secretary even started to fuss about the order of listing him on the payroll, claiming first place and everywhere trying to show he was "the one hand." Although this is an isolated case, it reveals a certain attitude.

Intensified reform of the economic system has turned enterprises into comparatively independent producers and commodity traders. Enterprises are legal persons, and the factory director represents a legal person. The factory director bears direct responsibility for the economic results, social effects and all consequences of business operations, and has obligations toward state and society. The principle of unified responsibility requires that the factory director be granted appropriate powers. A disparity between responsibilities and powers, i.e., having a factory director with responsibilities but without powers, will have the result of no one taking

responsibility for production and business operations in the enterprise. In this sense, since production and business operations are the core of enterprise activities, the factory director is the key person in the enterprise. By guiding ideological and political work, the secretary of the enterprise party committee must actively support the factory director in the exercise of his powers, cooperate with him wholeheartedly, work in coordination with him, and both must jointly exert efforts for the successful operation of the socialist enterprise.

3. We must change from a system in which it was purely a prerogative of the party committee to appoint and dismiss cadres, to a system in which both the party committee and the factory director will both have authority to appoint and dismiss cadres. In the past, the principle of party management of cadres was manifested in the appointment and dismissal of cadres by the party committee. Now, in order to effectively implement the factory director responsibility system and conform to the principle of linking the running of operations with employment matters, all cadres of the party committee system would still be appointed and dismissed by the party committee, but intermediate-level administrative cadres would be employed and dismissed by the factory director. Most party committees in enterprises clearly understand this reform of the cadre system and show themselves capable of actively coordinating their actions regarding employment with that of the factory director. But there are some comrades who lack sufficient understanding and refuse to approve individual cadre appointments made by the factory director, as they regard it as running counter to the principle of party management of cadres if the factory director employs intermediate-level administrative cadres. Actual facts during the last few years show that over 95 percent of the cadres appointed by factory directors have proven to be good or relatively good, and employment had to be denied in only a few isolated cases, but even where the party committee manages cadres there are isolated cases where employment has to be denied. Why would it then be regarded by some as running counter to the principle of party management of cadres if the factory director appoints intermediate-level administrative cadres? There are two reason: One is the influence of the old pattern of cadre management and of other outdated concepts and customs. Another reason is an inadequate understanding of the principle of party management of cadres and a failure to acknowledge the need to reform the cadre management system in the new era. The correct understanding must be: The principle of party management of cadres is at no time to be changed and must always be upheld, but its specific meaning, scope, and mode of application will be different at different times and in different sectors. The principle of party management of cadres means mainly that the party's line, principles, and policies with regard to cadres are to be correctly implemented. As long as this is done, any investigation, appointment, or dismissal, and control of cadres conforms with the principle of party management of cadres. If the factory director, out of consideration for the needs of production or to implement the reform, exercises, in accordance with regulations, his right of appointment and dismissal of leading administrative cadres at the intermediate level, he is still acting within the boundaries of the principle of party management of cadres. When exercising his right of appointment and dismissal, the factory director must of course adhere to the standards of employing persons with both ability and political integrity and appoint people on their merits; he shall also, of his own

accord, solicit the opinion of the party committee. According to the party's cadre line and cadre policies, the party committees in enterprises must do a good job of training, educating, and investigating cadres. They must conscientiously and responsibly present opinions and suggestions concerning cadres whom the factory director proposes to employ. As long as factory directors and secretaries meet the above-stated demands in their activities, I believe effective implementation of the principle of party management of cadres in enterprises is assured.

4. We must change from a system of having party committees taking charge of all affairs to a system in which the party committee will give full play to its role of guaranteeing and supervising implementation of policies. The factory director responsibility system demands that the enterprise party committees be completely separated from administrative affairs, and that they carry out ideological and political leadership in the enterprises, which in turn will indeed achieve the objective of strengthening party leadership in enterprises. Reference to improving and strengthening of party leadership in enterprises means that the demand for reform of the enterprise leadership system has to be fulfilled and that the party organization devote itself to guaranteeing and supervising implementation of policy. Providing this guarantee and supervision are the primary duties of party committees in enterprises, duties that permeate all processes of economic activities. Guaranteeing and supervising policy implementation must on the whole cover the following main aspects: First, guarantee and supervise the enterprises to ensure that they uphold socialist production and business policies. Second, guarantee and supervise them to ensure that staff and workers exercise their right of democratic management and assert their role as masters. Third, guarantee and supervise the implementation of the policy of distribution according to work, and also ensure that the interests of all three parties--state, enterprise, and staff and workers--are given due consideration, and the relationships between enterprise interests and consumer interests are correctly dealt with. Fourth, guaranteeing and supervising observance of the financial and economic system and guarding against encroachments on the state's economic interests. Fifth, guaranteeing and supervising implementation of the party's cadre policies, upholding all policies in support of the "four modernizations" on the part of the cadre contingent, and adherence to the employment standards, namely of recruiting persons of both ability and political integrity and of appointing people on their merits. To sum up, the leadership role of the enterprise party committees consists of providing guarantees and supervision in the above-stated areas, to actively support and ensure realization of the factory director's decisions, as far as they are in accordance with principles and policies, and to promptly point out, and if necessary report to higher authorities, decisions of the factory director that obviously violate these principles and policies.

## Separation of Party, Administration

Beijing SIXIANG ZHENGZHI GONGZUO YANJIU [IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK RESEARCH] in Chinese No 12, 8 Dec 86 pp 23-24

[Article by Dai Zijun [2071 1311 6874], secretary of the CPC Committee at the Nanchang Steelworks: "What Makes a New Type of Party Committee Secretary"]

[Text] After instituting the factory director responsibility system, what makes a good party committee secretary in an enterprise? Reviewing the practice of 2 years of experimentally operating the factory director responsibility system in our plant, and after repeated study of the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Economic System," I find that it requires tireless efforts in at least the following three areas:

### 1. Updating Old Concepts, Effectively Performing an "Authority Turnabout"

The purpose of instituting the factory director responsibility system in enterprises is to meet the objective demands of socialized modern large-scale production in enterprises and of the development of a planned commodity economy. It is a move that will help overcome the objectionable practice of the past of not separating the party from the government and of separating responsibility from authority. It will help strengthen and improve party leadership and help uphold the socialist direction in enterprises. At a time when we are building socialist material civilization, it will strengthen the simultaneous development of socialist spiritual civilization. However, there are presently some enterprises which, after instituting the factory director responsibility system, show a slackening in the work of their party committee secretaries. Others have again suggested that it might do if the factory director is a member of the party and would concurrently assume the position of party committee secretary. In my opinion this method is essentially not at all different from the past method when one party secretary would take on all party as well as administrative work. There are limits to a person's energies. By burdening the shoulders of one man with two heavy loads will possibly have the effect of making it impossible for him to take care of everything, so that in the end no job would be done right. Practical experience indicates that in enterprises with factory director responsibility systems the work of enterprise party secretaries cannot possibly be abolished and cannot be considered merely as an empty shell, but that on the contrary their work is absolutely essential. Nowadays, the key to doing a good job as party committee secretary lies in freeing oneself of old ideas and updating one's concepts. Instituting the factory director responsibility system is a major reform of the enterprise leadership system, which of necessity demands a corresponding reform in party committee work. Compared with what had been in the past, there will be very big changes in the status and functions of the enterprise party committee and in the duties and jurisdiction of the secretary. To conform with these changes, party committee secretaries will be required to lead the way in effecting, in ideological and conceptual respects, "four riddances" with "four changes." First, they have to rid themselves of the concept that the party committee exercises overall unified leadership in all activities of the enterprise, and that the party secretary has always the

final say. They have to change to the concept that the party committee exercises leadership only with regard to party work and the work of the mass organizations, as well as in ideological and political work, and that the party committee guarantees and supervises the implementation in the enterprise of all party and state principles and policies. Second, they have to rid themselves of the concept that the party committee deliberates and decides matters of production and business operations and directly issues policy decisions and directions. They have to change to the concept that the factory director has full powers, is responsible for and decides production, business, and management policies, while the party committee guarantees and supervises party and state policy implementation. Third, they have to rid themselves of the concept that all cadres in the enterprise are directly controlled, and uniformly appointed and dismissed, by the party committee. They have to change to the concept that the party committee directly controls, appoints, and dismisses cadres in the party and mass organizations, while administrative cadres are appointed and dismissed by the factory director. But the party committee still guarantees and supervises implementation of cadre policies. Fourth, they have to rid themselves of the concept that the relationship between the party committee and factory director is one of leader and led, and that the party secretary is "the one hand" in command. They have to change to the concept that the factory director occupies the key position in the enterprise and exercises the key role. In short, the party committee secretary must consciously step down from the position of "supreme commander" and mentally perform an "authority turnabout." He must actively, and of his own accord, coordinate his actions with those of the factory director for the successful accomplishment of the work of the enterprise.

## 2. Supporting the Factory Director, Successful "Accomplishment of the Employment Task"

"Selection of good persons for office is fundamental to good government." Choosing personnel is a question that directly affects all spheres of work in an enterprise, influences the reform in progress in the enterprise leadership system, and also involves the party's cadre principles and policies. It is therefore necessary for the party committee secretary to correctly handle this question, to actively support the factory director in the selection of good capable people, and to assist the factory director in the successful accomplishment of the employment task, according to the cadre-related demands of the "four modernizations."

First of all, the party committee secretary must clearly understand that the correct exercise of the factory director's power of staff employment is consistent with the principle of "party management of cadres." This is so because at its core, the principle of "party management of cadres" provides for guaranteeing and supervising the correct implementation of the party's cadre line. After being appointed by the higher authority in charge, the factory director is legal representative of the enterprise. He has to manage the enterprise according to the line, principles, and policies of the party and according to the laws and decrees of the state. The procedures governing management of administrative cadres in enterprises have changed, but not the selection criteria. When selecting personnel, the factory director still must earnestly solicit the opinions and suggestions of the party committee. All

this manifests the principle of "party management of cadres." After the "whole team" of the party committee in our plant had reached a common understanding of the above, they supported the factory director in an exemplary way in his selection of good and capable personnel. With a division of work, they, furthermore, held heart-to-heart talks with all party cadres in leading positions throughout the plant, and gave them guidance, calling on them to jointly support the factory director in his work.

Furthermore, in supporting the factory director in his efforts to "successfully accomplish the employment task," the party committee must take practical steps. This requires not only arrangements for "the whole team" to conscientiously discuss the list of candidates proposed by the plant director according to the cadre-related standards of the "four modernizations," and to comment on them in a responsibly way, but also to help the plant director broaden the avenues of information on suitable persons, strengthen his courage in making appointments, and open up new methods of examining candidates. At the same time, they must take care to firmly adhere to the mass line, bring collective wisdom into play, seek out capable persons of many fields through a variety of channels, observe and assess controversial cadres in actual practice, try hard to "discover talents before full manifestation of their abilities, and use talents amidst controversy," foster a courage and resourcefulness without fear of running risks in selecting good and capable persons.

And furthermore, when supporting the factory director in the selection of good and capable persons, the party secretary must not only be certain of each individual cadre in his relation to the "four modernizations," but must also help the factory director give consideration to rendering the whole leadership group's composition more science-oriented, to endeavors to obtain a leadership that has a systematic character, creativity, and is highly efficient. There was a team at a second-rank unit of our plant, of which all four members were university graduates, and each, individually analyzed, was a capable and good person. However, joined together in a team for not even 1 year, it became necessary to effect an organizational readjustment. The experience with this team tells us that it will not do if every member of the leadership group is a "Zhuge Liang". To be successful there has to be coordination as between "Liu, Guan, and Zhang." Today, when our enterprises appoint cadres into leadership teams, the party secretary should support the factory director in starting out from the special characteristics of modern production, and in striving to achieve a consistency of the entire team with regard to a staggered age composition, a three-dimensional combination of knowledge, a rational combination of professional specialties, a harmonious combination of temperaments, and fairly high composite intelligence.

### 3. No Mere "Following in Footsteps," Keeping Good Control of the Rudder

Since ours are socialist enterprises, they must adhere to the socialist direction. It is the important duty of the party committee secretary to ensure this political direction and keep the rudder firmly under control.

First of all, it must be made clear that the important duty of the party committee secretary is to guarantee and supervise the enterprises' progress along the socialist line, and to guarantee and supervise correct implementation of party principles and policies in the enterprise. This supervision and guarantee function has an impact on the character of the enterprise and manifests the leadership of the party. The secretary of the party committee must, therefore, have excellent political qualities and a strong sense of principle. He must be mindful of the high degree to which principles are involved in party policies and not limit his attention to specific matters of production and administration. Otherwise, he may easily lead people to deviate from the overall political policies or merely leave things as they are. This type of guarantee would of necessity only be "working around the factory director and doing things behind the factory director's back." That kind of supervision would of necessity be merely a "following in the footsteps" of the factory director, adopting a stance with a "biased view." Acting in this way would constitute a dereliction of duties on the part of the party committee secretary.

Then also, it must be made clear that the party committee secretary must bear in mind, in his work, the high degree to which principles are involved in the party's general and specific policies. He must bear in mind that upholding the correct political direction is not an empty phrase, but something that must be applied in reality. The political direction involves such questions as whether the enterprise follows a correct production and business direction, whether the democratic rights and legitimate interests of the staff and workers are being protected, whether the state's financial and economic system and discipline is being implemented, whether the principle of distribution according to work is being applied, whether the principle of hiring good and capable persons is upheld, or whether unhealthy tendencies and acts that violate law and undermine discipline are being resisted and rectified, etc.

And furthermore, the party committee secretary must adhere to the correct political orientation. He must rely on the strength of the party organization, and in his actual work correctly handle the relationship between guarantees and supervision. He must realize that the purpose of guaranteeing and supervising is to uphold the correct political direction, and that while guarantees are basic to supervising, supervising is necessary to facilitate guarantees. Both must be united and integrated. He must avoid the trend of "when it comes to guaranteeing, showing a two-faced character; when it comes to supervising, being satisfied with checking the problem." As to concrete methods, we have arranged for plant-rank cadres to collectively study party principles and policies; we have established a "stress good party and factory work style" leadership responsibility system, perfected a democratic life association system for plant-rank cadres, etc. In this way we bring it about that maintaining the correct political orientation becomes a conscious activity of everyone and that guaranteeing and supervising is actually being carried out in reality.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'LI FANGLAN INCIDENT' DRAWS WIDE ATTENTION

Outspoken Female Engineer Suppressed

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by XINHUA reporter Wu Mingfei [6762 7686 7378]: "The 'Li Fanglan Incident' in Shanghai"]

[Text] Clean water is of vital importance not only to Shanghai's residents but to the city's industries as well. Hundreds of water-treatment specialists are at work day and night trying to improve water quality for the entire city. However, at the Shanghai municipal industrial water research center, a female engineer, Li Fanglan [2621 5364 5695], was suppressed and mistreated in every possible way, deprived of her right to work, and almost driven to ending her own life, all because she expressed her opinions and made some suggestions about her work.

In spring of last year, Li Fanglan was making experiments on "sweet-leaf chrysanthemum concentrates" when manager of a chemical industry equipment company under the Shanghai Chemical Industry Bureau, which is also the immediate superior unit to the industrial water research center, brought some samples from other units to the center for tests without authorization or going through the necessary procedures. The tests caused damage to the center's equipment. Li Fanglan expressed her opinion by objecting to the way things were done in disregard of rules and regulations and scientific conditions. She had spoken out and made suggestions to the leadership in the past. From this time on, she began to be snubbed and punished by the leadership repeatedly. Her initial report on her research project to the leadership was "lost," and her requests for research work were unanswered. Before long, Li Fanglan, who was one of the technical personnel in charge, was kicked out of the "sweet-leaf chrysanthemum" project group without explanation, and she had no choice but to work as doorkeeper at the test site.

On 20 December of last year, the center decided to hold a "sweet-leaf chrysanthemum" research project preliminary review and appraisal meeting. Li Fanglan held that the project was not yet ready to be appraised, and she was not allowed to attend the meeting by the leaders concerned. It was only because several other engineers objected strongly that she was called to the meeting. At the meeting, she explained, based on facts, that the experiments under the

project had not been continued long enough, and the data obtained were not yet up to standards for an appraisal. She suggested that a summing-up of the current phase of work be made first. She was ridiculed and besieged with abuses on the spot. After the meeting, overcome by humiliation and anger, she passed out.

When Li Fanglan was sent to the hospital for emergency treatment, some leaders told the doctors that Li had a "hysterical disposition." The next day, they spread the rumor everywhere that "Li Fanglan had a bad fit of hysterics." On 15 March of this year, when the center's leadership announced job and work assignments for middle-level cadres, Li Fanglan was the only one left out.

In a few months' time, this female engineer was maligned as a "lunatic" and lost her right to perform scientific research work.

Investigations show that 44-years-old Li Fanglan is a dedicated scientific research cadre who has engaged for a long time in high polymer separation film and high-degree water treatment research. She has published more than 30 articles in academic journals at home and abroad and achieved many results from her scientific research. An electrodialytic ion exchanger, which she and her companions developed jointly won a major third-class scientific and technological achievement award of Shanghai Municipality in 1983. In February 1984, Li Fanglan was transferred from the Shanghai synthetic resin research institute to the industrial water research center. In order to improve water quality, she worked even on holidays and enthusiastically wrote a work plan for the center. In October 1984, she was sent to Japan for advanced studies at the Osaka municipal industrial research institute. In Japan, Li Fanglan studied hard and bought books and materials in her specialized field with foreign exchange her relatives gave her. When she returned to Shanghai, she bought nothing for her personal use. Instead, she brought back more than 130 kg of books.

Many scientific and technical personnel who are familiar with Li Fanglan's character stated that Li is one of those people to whom work means everything and personal interests do not matter. Her family does not have adequate housing, and she has to do her cooking outdoors almost in the open air, but she never complains. When her husband was seriously ill, she never asked her office for help but quietly overcame the difficulties on her own. Not long ago, she and another technician donated 10,000 yuan, which they had earned as payment for the technology in a septum-type water purifier developed jointly by them on their spare time, to the municipal science and technology association. For this, some people are saying that she must be "crazy, for how else could she have donated so much money?"

Li Fanglan has willingly devoted her whole life to the motherland and science, but she has been mistreated time and again. She is suffering great mental agony. She went to the municipal chemical industry bureau and other departments many times to appeal for help with tears in her eyes, but her problem remained unsolved. After countless fruitless appeals, she went to the Huangpujiang in tears one night contemplating suicide. She was dragged home by her husband and daughter after much pleading.

The misfortune of the female engineer evoked strong repercussions. Many comrades inside and outside the industrial water research center wrote letters and paid visits to the relevant leading departments in Shanghai, appealing for redress of the injustices done Li Fanglan. Investigation teams were quickly dispatched by the Shanghai municipal CPC committee's general office, the municipal economic commission, the municipal industrial CPC committee, the municipal scientific and technical cadre bureau, and press units. After much hard work, the cause and effects of the "Li Fanglan incident" were finally brought to light. The consensus was that it was a typical case of serious persecution of intellectuals.

After learning and investigating the case, Li Guoji [2621 0948 2623], a well-known lawyer in Shanghai, was infuriated. He and another lawyer, Fan Fangqiang [5400 2455 1730], jointly presented a legal recommendation to the relevant municipal departments, calling for prompt handling of the case.

How can an honest intellectual suffer such misfortune for making suggestions to the leadership? After the occurrence of the Li Fanglan incident, why did the departments concerned pretend to be deaf and dumb and for a long time fail to do anything about those responsible? Is it necessary for leading comrades of the municipal party committee or even the CPC Central Committee to intervene before such a clear-cut case of right and wrong can be handled? Today, as respect for knowledge and qualified people is becoming a social trend, in Shanghai where the economy is prosperous and qualified people converge, shouldn't some leading cadres think deeply about these questions?

#### RENMIN RIBAO Response

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Ye Ban [0673 0133]: "Let's See How This Case Is Going To End"]

[Text] Persecution of intellectuals is an act of ignorance and backwardness. It is incompatible with modernization and runs counter to spiritual civilization. Yet even today, the "Li Fanglan incident" has occurred in economically developed and culturally advanced Shanghai. A female engineer is persecuted only because she has expressed her opinions and made some suggestions about her work. The incident reminds people: There are indeed still a few units whose leaders are lagging a whole age behind in their thinking. They will persecute anyone who dare to speak out. To them, democracy and science are nothing but strange stories from over the seas.

However, the times are different after all. Li Fanglan's colleagues stepped forward bravely; well-known lawyers, Li Guoji and others, spoke out angrily; the Shanghai municipal CPC committee's general office and other organizations intervened quickly; and the whole truth has come out and been revealed in the newspapers. A right step forward has been taken. People are now anxious to see how this incident is going to wind up.

Although the persecution of an intellectual may be started by just one or two leading cadres, they often act in the name of an organization at a certain

level. How can an individual fight an organization? This is one of the reasons why some persecuted intellectuals have nowhere to appeal even though they have been wronged, and why departments at higher levels do not know where to start in dealing with these cases. It is hoped that the "Li Fanglan incident" will be solved, because it has already been brought before the law. People are waiting to see the prosecution of those responsible according to the law as a warning to others.

Readers Write to Newspaper

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Oct 86 p 1

[Letter from 51 scientific and technical personnel of the "water center"]

[Text] WEN HUI BAO Editorial Department:

Your paper has carried numerous reports about what's going on at the industrial water research center. As a result, the crux of the center's problems has been made known to the public. We have come here from different parts of the country with the common wish to do something in the field of water treatment. Months and years have passed, but no visible progress has been made in the center's development, and there is not even a clearly defined purpose for the center's work. A planned "experiment building" remains a castle in the air, and a lot of work cannot even get started. All this has made us very worried. Now RENMIN RIBAO and your paper have published the facts about the persecution of Engineer Li Fanglan. We hope that this matter can be dealt with promptly and seriously. As for the center's work, and what should be done, we think that immediate attention is called for. We hope that your paper will continue to help us call for attention so that the center's problems can be solved thoroughly as soon as possible.

[Signed] Fifty-one comrades of the Shanghai municipal industrial water research center.

[Text] An intellectual's misfortune has been brought to the attention of tens of millions of readers. In the past few days, this paper has received a large number of letters and telegrams from readers, expressing sympathy and support for the female engineer Li Fanglan, who is "burning with desire to serve her country" and strongly denouncing some cadres and leaders who are "cold as ice" toward intellectuals.

Zhuang Guocai [5445 0948 2624], associate professor and director of the department of educational administration, Shanghai Normal University, wrote: I was moved to tears when I read the newspaper report. To "respect knowledge and qualified people" so that the slogan will not remain a slogan, it is imperative to punish severely those who persecute the intellectuals. Yang Fujia [2799 4395 1367], well-known physicist and professor of Fudan University, asked: Why has this problem still not been solved, but is growing, after a whole year? Miao Qiwei [4924 0366 0251], water-treatment engineer at the Baoshan Iron and Steel Complex General Plant, suggested: It is necessary to enact a local law for the "protection of scientific and technological development

and progress in Shanghai Municipality," which should include important provision for the protection of scientists and technicians.

Since the "Li Fanglan incident" was reported in the newspapers, the suppressed feelings of the scientific and technical personnel at the industrial water research center have erupted like a volcano. On the next day, they jointly wrote a letter to this paper and the leadership of the municipal CPC committee to express their thinking and call for action to deal seriously with the cadres involved in the persecution of Comrade Li Fanglan and solve the center's problems as quickly as possible. There are some 70 people in this unit, and 51 signed their names on the letter.

On the afternoon of 29 September, this reporter accompanied comrades of the municipal industrial party committee to the industrial water research center to attend a discussion meeting and listen to reports. Even though the next day was a holiday, the scientists and technicians talked with us until 9 p.m. without taking a break even for dinner, and they still had much more to say. They said: More than 3 years ago, a group of scientists and technicians including Li Fanglan and some comrades among us wrote to the municipal government to suggest that an organization be set up to coordinate the entire city's water treatment technological development work. The suggestion was well received by the municipal leadership, leading to the establishment of the industrial water research center. However, in the 3 years since its establishment, the center and the department directly above it have completely forgotten the original purpose for which the center was established, to the disappointment of Shanghai's 10 million people, and they have begun to persecute and discriminate against the scientific and technical personnel. The case of Li Fanglan's persecution has not yet been settled, and some leaders are already finding fault with one after another among us, and even playing all kinds of dirty tricks to deceive us. Of the center's six leading cadres, none has any experience in water-treatment work. Yet they are in the habit of rebuking the professionals at will, showing not the least respect for their dignity as human beings, let alone respecting knowledge and qualified people.

The comrades of the municipal industrial party committee and this reporter also listened to the opinions of the center's leaders in the same afternoon. Even though they said that the news papers "did a good reporting job," that they were "sorry," and that they "failed to pay enough attention in the past and feel a little regret now," despite the concrete facts, they either flatly denied that they had persecuted Li Fanglan or other intellectuals, or shifted the blame to others, or argued the "they did what they did for good reasons." According to reports from the masses, these leaders have in the past few days tried to find out who the eight engineers were who had written to the newspaper. What did they mean by "in a state of anxiety" in the letter?

#### RENMIN RIBAO Follow-up

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 3

[Text] Since WEN HUI BAO and this paper carried reports on the blows suffered by Li Fanglan, an engineer at the Shanghai municipal industrial water research center,

the "Li Fanglan incident" has aroused deep concern among a vast number of readers. On 4 October, WEN HUI BAO published a letter from 51 scientists and technicians in Li Fanglan's unit and an investigation report by its reporter, which provided more information on the center's problems and readers' responses.

The industrial water research center has a total of some 70 employees, and 51 scientific and technical personnel jointly wrote to WEN HUI BAO: "We have come here from different parts of the country with the common wish to do something in the field of water treatment. Months and years have passed, but no visible progress has been made in the center's work. A planned 'experiment building' remains a castle in the air, and a lot of work cannot even get started. All this has made us very worried. Now RENMIN RIBAO and WEN HUI BAO have published the facts about the persecution of Engineer Li Fanglan. We hope that this matter can be dealt with promptly and seriously. As for the center's work, and what should be done, we think that immediate action is called for. We hope that your paper will continue to help us call for attention so that the center's problems can be solved thoroughly as soon as possible."

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On the afternoon of 29 September, comrades of the Shanghai municipal industrial CPC committee went to the industrial water research center to attend a discussion meeting and listen to reports. Even though the next day was a holiday, the scientists and technicians talked with them until 9 p.m. without taking a break for dinner, and they still had much more to say. The scientists and technicians said: In the 3 years since the center was established, the center as well as the department directly above it have completely forgotten the original purpose for which it was established, to the disappointment of Shanghai's 10 million people, and they have begun to persecute and discriminate against the scientific and technical personnel. The case of Li Fanglan's persecution has not yet been settled, and some leaders are already finding fault with one after another among us, and even playing all kinds of dirty tricks to deceive us. Of the center's six leading cadres, none has any experience in water treatment work. Yet they are in the habit of rebuking the professionals at will, showing not the least respect for their dignity as human beings, let alone respecting knowledge and qualified people.

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that they "failed to pay enough attention in the past and feel a little regret now," despite the concrete facts, they either flatly denied that they had persecuted Li Fanglan or other intellectuals, or shifted the blame to others, or argued that "they did what they did good reasons." According to reports from the masses, these leaders have in the past few days tried to find out, who the eight engineers were who had written to the WEN HUI Bao? What did they mean by "in a state of anxiety" in the letters?

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRACTICE OF 'I AM THE BOSS' PERSISTS

Shanghai XINMIN WANBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Lin Fang [2651 2397]: "A Minister's 'Trouble'"]

[Text] Vice Minister of Culture Ying Ruocheng [5391 5387 6134], who has assumed office only recently, is complaining about his trouble: as a vice minister, it has become hard to say anything. When you see a play, you have to give an opinion, and anything you say is on record. You have to speak carefully, because what you say is going to be "followed to the letter" by your subordinates. This is indeed a problem of being a leader.

Except for some special occasions designated by the organization, a minister going to see a play is of the same status as any other theatergoer. They can all make comments, complimentary or otherwise, according to their own interests and understanding. Leaders, no matter how important, can only use their power when performing their duties. At all other times, their opinions can only be regarded as personal, which others may or may not agree with and certainly do not have to follow as "orders."

However, in our country it has long been customary to link truth closely with rank. In producing a film, staging a show, or publishing a book, we sometimes have to take our cues from the leadership. A nod or shake of the head of the boss sends subordinates into action immediately. When the boss sneezes, the subordinates cough. Isn't it a common occurrence?

The root cause of all this is the remaining custom of "what I say goes." Unlike Vice Minister Ying Ruocheng, some leaders do not feel troubled. On the contrary, they are intoxicated by their authority and are proud to show it. As a result, their subordinates are so intimidated that they keep a record of what their leaders have said and "carry out orders to the letter."

If there are bosses, there are also followers. Bosses and their followers are interdependent. These followers take the boss's casual remark as an order, make a big fuss about it, and use it to stifle criticism and suggestions from the masses. It is precisely these people who make the "bosses" forget themselves and put leading cadres like Ying Ruocheng in a dilemma.

In the final analysis, the trouble Vice Minister Ying Ruocheng complains about is a sequel of the past practice of "what I say goes." If "what I say goes" is replaced by letting everyone have his say, not only will the vice minister have greater freedom in what he says, but the writers will have more relaxed conditions for creative work.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING THIRD ECHELON EXPLAINED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Build the Third Echelon According to the Cadre 'Four Requirements'"]

[Text] Building the third echelon according to the cadre "four requirements" and introducing the system of reserves are a major strategic decision made by the party Central Committee. It concerns the future and destiny of our party and state and the success or failure of the socialist modernization program. We must fully recognize the strategic significance of the third echelon and unswervingly build it properly.

To build the third echelon, we must further improve the understanding of some comrades. Some comrades feel that leading groups of various levels have made improvements in line with the "four requirements" and that building the third echelon is no longer so urgent. Others feel that, with the gradual spread of the system of filling posts by selection, appointment, and examination, the third echelon is no longer necessary, and place its building on the opposite side of the cadre system reform. Still others give undue attention on the flaws due to imperfections in the work methods of building the third echelon and doubt its necessity.

These ideas reflect some leaders' inadequate understanding of the strategic and practical significance of the third echelon. We know that in building the third echelon it is a strategic task to train tens of thousands of successors in the proletarian cause to carry on the party's principles and policies, and is the basic work to hasten the fulfillment of the "four requirements." It is an endeavor of a regular nature to be persevered in, not an emergency move nor expedient measure. With the development of economic construction and the situation of opening to the outside and reform, the building of leading groups will encounter ever higher demands. Persistently building the third echelon will supply superior personnel in a steady stream to the leading groups and adjust to the development of the situation. Today, along with the progress of economic reform, the cadre and employment systems are also undergoing commensurate changes, thereby guaranteeing the emergence of superior personnel. It makes it even more necessary for us to continue to strengthen the building of the third echelon.

Naturally, with the development of the reform situation, the building of the third echelon must also be continuously improved and perfected in practice. We must accurately master the criteria of personnel selection, follow firmly the specified work procedures, ensure quality, and render greater service, in the building of the third echelon, to economic construction, reform, and opening to the outside.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### QUALITY OF NPC DEPUTIES DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Li Weimin [2621 0251 3046]: "Open Political Participation and the Quality of People's Deputies"]

[Text] In socialist China, politics should be open, not closed; political activities should be participated in by the majority, not monopolized by a few. One important part of socialist democracy is to open sociopolitical life to the people and to systematize their right to take part in politics. Today, besides further strengthening and developing democracy in sociopolitical life at the basic levels the key is to perfect the people's congress system and make people's deputies truly into participants and policy-makers in the political activities of the state, exerting an influence on state decisions. Thus, people's deputies engendered in general elections must be equipped with the qualities required by law before they can exercise properly the legally protected rights of voting, participation in politics, formulating laws, and supervision and dismissal, and play their proper roles.

Since some time ago, the people's congresses at various levels, in exercising rights granted by the constitution, have indeed produced an ever more important impact. However, due to the inadequate exercise of such rights, unavoidably such power organs are habitually regarded by some as leisure organs of the "second line." The political activities of the people's deputies are limited to "clapping hands, raising hands, and shaking hands" at meetings. The actual situation of the state power mechanism is: "The party waves its hands, the government puts its hands to work, and the people's congress lends a hand." At times, the post of a people's deputy is considered an honor and, recommended by leaders and elected by having their names circled individuals unsuitable for the job are awarded the post. As a result, not only does the people's congress fail to produce the proper impact in the state power mechanism, but the quality of deputies is lowered, and they become incompatible with their positions and roles.

It should be stressed that, as the supreme organ of the state, the NPC should be an organ with a galaxy of talents. If the people's deputies are unable to represent the views of voters of their own electoral districts and freely express their political opinions, and do not possess the qualities for them to participate in politics, then the roles of deputies in political participation

and decision making are merely "illusions." To improve the political qualities of deputies and enhance their ability to participate in politics, and totally change their image as "big labels but mere skeletons," the pressing task is to let those with certain political qualities and the ability to participate in politics, who are truly supported by voters and represent their will, serve as deputies. Improving the quality of deputies is the key to the full development of their roles. I feel that today, besides electing deputies according to the election law, we urgently need a "law on the Qualifications of People's Deputies," stipulating the basic criteria and requirements, including basic cultural level, legal knowledge, and ability in political participation. In terms of basic cultural level, NPC deputies must possess certain abilities in writing and oral expression and an educational level of senior middle school or above. Separate provisions may be made for minorities and deputies elected under special conditions. Those falling short of the basic cultural requirements will be temporarily suspended by voters or deputies' credential examination organs. In terms of legal knowledge, they must have a relatively detailed understanding of the constitution and other major legal documents, and a systematic expertise in the procedures of making proposals and voting on legislation. In view of their special powers and rights and obligations, they must earnestly employ the powers granted by the constitution, exercise independent judgment and perform independent acts within the scope permitted by law, speak for the people, and respond to voters. All these require legal knowledge as the guarantee. The legal knowledge of deputies may be ascertained by means of combining assessment with practical examination. The quality of political participation includes making independent proposals, expressing views, voting according to the will of their own electoral districts, scheduling work reports to voters, seeking voters' opinions, and exercising legal supervision and performing other activities. As the NPC is the principal part of the state power mechanism, the deputies' main activity is participation in policy making or, by means of political participation, exerting a direct influence on major decisions. If a person possesses only professional qualifications or has only made outstanding contributions in his own field, but has no political and policy levels, not the ability to take part in political activities, he is not suitable as an NPC deputy.

In China, the formation and systematization of political participation are, to a large extent, determined by the improvement of the quality of people's deputies, primarily NPC deputies. There are two ways to improve their quality: 1) Propagandize the requirements on deputies in the course of engendering people's deputies and formulate an appropriate law on the qualifications of people's deputies, in order to ensure the election of qualified persons; and 2) regularly organize people's deputies to study and undergo training and improve their theoretical, scientific, and cultural levels and legal knowledge. In short, perfecting democracy by representation and opening China's political life to the people hinge on improving the quality of people's deputies.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL REFORM, SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION DISCUSSED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Chen Shi [7115 1395]: "Modernization Cannot Be Done Without Political Construction"]

[Excerpts] What is meant by socialist modernization? This question has yet to be answered. The theories and practices of the past few years have given me the impression that modernization means economic development. This understanding is one-sided. Economic development alone, without political reform, cannot bring about socialist modernization.

I nearly 8 years following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have been a better period than any other since Liberation, not only beyond comparison to the decade of the "Cultural Revolution" but far better than even the 1950's and 1960's. This has been a good period both economically and politically. However, people feel that the political system has fallen far short of meeting the requirements of the deepening economic reform and cultural development. The shortcomings of the political system: to varying degrees there exist in our political life the remaining influence of feudalism, the patriarchal system, and the practice of "what I say goes"; there is a lack of democracy, and one person alone has the final say; and some leaders pay no attention to words from higher levels, refuse to be supervised by the masses, do as they please, are domineering in their ways, and regard those working under them as their personal appendages. In the field of organization and personnel, there are rival factions and groups, and it is important for a person to identify himself with one of them; promotion of careers is not fair and square on the basis of performance, but is based on personal impression, preference, feeling, or relationship; and a "hereditary system" in disguised form is in existence. Many jobs and titles are created to accommodate certain persons. There is serious overstaffing and too many redundant personnel, offices, documents, meetings, and concurrent and deputy positions. The fundamental cause of these shortcomings is that after the focus of our national life was shifted from "class struggle" to the "four modernizations," we have as yet failed to bring about a corresponding strategic shift of the focus of our work in the political and cultural fields.

After the establishment of a socialist system, the focus of political work should be shifted from "violent revolution in which one class overthrows another" to political construction aimed mainly at democratization. We should, and certainly can, put political construction in juxtaposition with economic construction and in capital letters.

## II.

Without a doubt, politics and economics cannot be separated. I think that the major problems in reforming the economic system and the main obstacles to development are more political than economic. Economic reform requires not only a sound economic environment but, even more important, a suitable political setting. Unless the political system undergoes a highly democratic reform, it will not be able to meet the requirements of economic reform. In the past, we took a roundabout course in economic development partly because of our lack of experience, but another important reason was the failure of the political system to meet the requirements of economic construction. The experience of other countries in reforming their economic structures has shown us that reform of the economic system must be coordinated with reform of the political system and reforms in other fields. Otherwise, the economic system, like "a fish caught in a net," can hardly thrive. In countries where economic reforms are properly coordinated with political construction, economic reform will be successful. Conversely, economic reform will fail or stagnate, if not coordinated with political reform.

In studying and comparing socialist systems, we should give full consideration to the relationship of interdependence among the economic, political, legal, social, and cultural systems. In studying structural economic reform, we must not neglect an analysis of the political, social, and ideological factors. And this is by no means against historical and dialectical materialism. At present, the atmosphere is somewhat depressing over the economic reform. Why? I think that the main cause lies in the serious shortcomings of the present political system. Before the eradication of the remaining feudalistic influence in the political field, all the talk about the decision-making power and the responsibility system will remain an empty promise with no real meaning. The old political system must be reformed because it seriously hampers the efforts of the brightest reformers and dampens the masses' enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity for economic reform.

## III.

The purpose of reforming the political system is to strengthen socialist political construction, promote all-round modernization, and create a favorable political environment for the reform of the economic system. What, then, is the main task of political construction in a socialist country with a feudalistic tradition before liberation? Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in August 1980: The major maladies plaguing some of our specific party and state system in current use are "related to the feudal and autocratic influences of old China." He also pointed out in all seriousness: "Since we underestimated its importance and soon proceeded to the socialist revolution, we did not fulfill the task of eliminating the remnant feudal influences in the ideological and political fields. Now it is imperative to state clearly that we must continue to tackle this task and carry out a number of effective reforms in our systems. Otherwise, our country and people will suffer once again." In reforming the political system, we must not forget the fact that we inherited from old China more of a tradition of feudal autocracy than of democratic legality. Therefore, the major task of socialist political construction will be democratization. Political democratization and economic reform should be

the two parallel principles to be implemented without coming into conflict in socialist construction.

Only through correct centralization on a highly democratic basis will it be possible to formulate and implement correct policies and exercise correct leadership, and only on this basis will the people become the real masters. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out repeatedly: "It is terrifying if a revolutionary party no longer hears from the people. It is even more terrifying if the silence is complete." A democracy should at least allow the people to express their opinions freely, that is, the "freedom of speech" stipulated by the Constitution. However, if anyone who dares to utter some unflattering words (in fact, unflattering only to one or two leaders) is dealt with by dictatorial means, then there is hardly any democracy to speak of.

At present, the unhealthy tendencies of one kind or another have become the most hated social phenomena to the people. The root cause of the unhealthy tendencies, major obstacles to economic reform, lies precisely in the remnants of feudalism in the ideological and political field. Isn't the most prevalent unhealthy trend, "appointing people by favoritism," which is most hated by the people, a product of bureaucratism, overcentralization of power, the patriarchal system, special privileges, and the unequal statuses between superiors and subordinates and between cadres and the masses? Owing to the influence of feudalism, it is common in our society that political power prevails over knowledge friendship carries more weight than party spirit and principle, and the party constitution and the law are often overruled by power. Owing to this influence, economic reform has not been able to proceed smoothly and fully according to the original plans.

The strategic orientation of our political work should be adapted to the goal and pattern the nation has chosen and coordinated with the socialist modernization. It should be conscious of its supporting role and the need for change. Political work should be a driving force, and not an obstruction, to economic reform and socialist modernization. Of course there will be political criticism in political work, but the emphasis is on political construction. Even when criticizing, the spearhead should be directed only to ideas, styles, and habits which hinder economic reform and undermine our efforts to make China prosperous and strong, not the opposite, and much less be directed to people dedicated to the cause of reform.

Political construction and economic development are the twofold theme of the symphony of socialist modernization. They add radiance and beauty to each other, and neither can be dispensed with. All those who are enthusiastic about the great cause of modernization should pay attention to political construction and strive to make democratization the main orientation of the reform of the political system.

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ARTICLE DISCUSSES ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAXHI BAO in Chinese 8 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Wu Guoguang [0702 0948 0342]: "A Redisussion of the Issue That Accepting Admonitions Is Not Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Among our numerous national characteristics, accepting admonitions can be considered one of them. Though it has never worked very well, perhaps precisely because it does not work and is such an unattainable ideal, it has become something highly admired by many progressives advocating social reform and is considered a good prescription for social ills. Discussing democracy, for instance, some people take accepting admonitions as its essence.

I admit that accepting admonitions is excellent, much better than refusing advice, rejecting dissent, and following "one man's words." Nevertheless, its advantages rest only within the range of such comparisons. One should rather say that it is the other side of "one man's words." In terms of history, it can only be a product of feudal autocracy, not democracy. It is a minor improvement in the absence of freedom of speech. Under the autocratic system, one man laid down the law. If he was fairly intelligent, he would hear other people's views, including dissents, and it was known as accepting admonishment. Thus, in the absence of autocracy, there is no such thing as accepting admonishment. In this sense, it is the situation where "100 schools of thought contend, but the old lady has the final say." Is not this practice of Jiang Qing's also a form of accepting admonishment?

Naturally, if a person can truly accept admonishment, he should do so willingly and have the capacity to revise his own ideas according to different views. However, it is not easily accomplished, and the autocrat is often unwilling to accept admonishment.

In fact, if one insists that accepting admonishment has a democratic flavor, it is merely because of the tolerance of different views and their assimilation in the course of decision making. But democracy ranges far beyond such a tiny bit of tolerance and magnanimity; it is a system which basically places power in the hands of the people. Under this system, the autocrat no longer exists, nor does the class distinction between the monarch and his ministers; thus, the subject of accepting admonishment no longer exists. The people have diverse views to start with, and no one has the right to decide whether they should be tolerated. Speakers take the initiative, and the rulers' only

alternative is to heed their views. Whoever fails to obey the people's will will be discarded. Only thus is the essence of democracy.

Ours is a nation with a long feudal history, and our traditional culture is mainly the illuviation of feudalism. With such an historical, cultural, and psychological background, the fact that it is difficult for the mode of thinking of many people to transcend all feudal matters is not surprising. Such "feudal matters" are complete, including things once splendid as well as obvious dross, enlightened ideals of the time as well as corrupt administration. We must not take the ideals of the time as today's. Socialism is absolutely something never dreamed of by the ministers and people under the feudal regime. One should say that socialism is a brand-new system totally different from feudalism. It is absolutely not "good" feudalism nor the achievement of its "good" things. If this idea is not clearly understood, many things will be thrown into chaos and petty arguments will arise. If one's sense of "democracy" is limited to the anticipation of "fair magistrates" and "honest bureaucrats" and the hope for "enlightened monarchs" willingly heeding admonishment, one has not freed oneself from the bondage of feudalism.

History has after all progressed to the 8th decade of the 20th century, yet the old tune of accepting admonishment is still sung, and at times is even fairly resonant. It obviously no longer harmonizes with the main socialist melody, nor serves as the voice of the people's hearts. Once the numerous muddled concepts are cleared up, and the numerous "camouflages" that seem to be democratic yet are not democratic are exposed, we will suddenly see the light. Many comrades vigorously preaching acceptance of admonishment and eulogizing honest bureaucrats are indeed sincere in their advocacy of democracy, except that, limited by their fields of vision, they are trapped by the ancients. One only hopes that our nation as a whole will soon extricate itself from the layers of traps, relegate such old concepts of good government as honest bureaucrats and acceptance of admonishment to the museum for homage, and take a different path of modernization in practical life.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION SAID ESSENTIAL FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 16 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporters Li Yu [2621 6735] and Li Weixiong [2621 0251 7160]: "Expand Citizens' Participation and Promote Democratic Intitution: An Interview with Yan Jiaqi [0917 1367 0366], Director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Political Science Institute"]

[Excerpts] "Democracy works on the principle that the minority should submit to the majority. On scientific questions we should always follow the truth, but on democratic issues we may sometimes have to follow the wrong direction." This is what Yan Jiaqi, director of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Political Science Institute, told the reporters at a recent interview.

The main topic of the interview was how to strengthen socialist democracy.

"To build a highly democratic political system, it is necessary first of all to understand clearly the meaning of 'democracy.'" Probably because he was talking to reporters, he began by stressing the need for conceptual accuracy. "Observing the people's conditions' and 'listening attentively to their voices' do not equate to democracy. Those are component parts of the feudalistic political theory, and sometimes can even be achieved under feudal rule. Democracy is a process through which an organization makes or changes its decisions directly and indirectly according to predetermined procedures. The principle that the minority should submit to the majority must be followed, of course. Decisions made according to this principle are not necessarily always right, but democracy has the built-in mechanism for correcting mistakes according to established procedures. Political democratization means enabling the people to influence or change the decisions of leading organs directly or indirectly according to legal procedures. The term system for leading cadres, the vote of no-confidence, and so forth are all parts of the mechanism to correct mistakes."

Yan Jiaqi has done a great deal of research and writing in the field of political science in the past few years. He completed two books recently. One is entitled "On Leadership." It is unique in content and viewpoint, and sold out quickly after it was published in Shanghai early this month. The other, "The 10-year History of the 'Cultural Revolution,'" coauthored with Gao Gao [7559 4108], is a book of historical facts, the first account in detail of the "decade of internal turmoil." He talked about the characteristics of China's

political and cultural traditions at meetings and during his interview with the reporters. He holds that in the long history of China's feudal society, political theories contained mainly moral standards and standards of behavior for rulers, advising them to rule with "virtue" and "benevolence," but basically with no binding force as a system. This kind of rule can be described as "personalized," as compared with that in modern Europe, which is "institutionalized."

This reminds us that things like listening attentively to the masses' opinions are often regarded as important contents of democracy, that some leading cadres are regarded as good "magistrates" for the people simply because they are "concerned about the masses' well-being," and so on. In dealing with cadres engaged in evil practices, actions are often intended only to admonish and enlighten them, or to mete out punishment. We fail to find out the causes in the system, and how to restrict them within the system.

On the present condition of the Chinese political system, Yan Jiaqi said: "After liberation, we founded the People's Republic. But the idea of the 'republic' was imported from abroad. Owing to the influence of China's political and cultural traditions, the two most important features of a 'people's republic' have not been fully realized. The first feature is that the people's congresses are the organs of state power and that the National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power. Particularly during the 'cultural revolution,' the supreme power of the state was concentrated in the hands of one or a few persons. The second feature is that no one may actually hold the highest administrative power for life. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, progress has been made step by step in these two areas. However, the phenomena of non-separation between party and government and over-concentration of power remain unchanged."

Yan Jiaqi is 44 years old. He speaks with a marked Changzhou accent.

On the relationship between party and government and between government and the people, Yan Jiaqi said: "The fundamental question of democracy is the relationship between the people and the government. Therefore, it is imperative to expand citizens' participation and develop a highly democratic political system."

On how to solve the problem of over-concentration of power, Yan Jiaqi suggested the following steps: Separate the functions of the party and the government; clearly divide the powers between the central and local governments and among local governments and do a good job in giving more powers to the lower levels; streamline government organizations and do a good job in separating government from enterprises; and expand citizens' participation and strengthen the role of the people's congresses.

Yan Jiaqi also pointed out that to promote socialist democracy, it is also very necessary to make government affairs known to the public. He said: "The selection and promotion of cadres should follow the principle of open selection. Any qualified and competent person should have the chance of being selected."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFORM OF CONCEPTS DISCUSSED

Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese 18 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Hu Ping [5170 1627]: "Social Reform and Concept Reform"]

[Text] WENYI BAO published on 26 August "Social Reform and Literary Prosperity" written by Zhang Xianliang [1728 6343 0081] and Wen Yuankai [3306 0337 0418]. Some very accurate ideas expressed by Comrade Zhang Xianliang on such sociopolitical issues as the "double hundred" policy and freedom of speech are doubtless commendable. However, in regard to his dissent from Comrade Wen Yuankai's formulation that "China's social reform primarily hinges on concept reform," I feel that discussion is needed.

According to Zhang Xianliang, the theory that "the premise of China's social reform is concept reform" has a similarity with the mode of thinking stressing the necessity of "ideological remolding" emphasized persistently in the past, and closely resembles the theory of starting from honesty and sincerity and ending at administering the country and pacifying the world advocated by the Chinese since ancient times. Though seemingly correct, the comment is a result of misunderstanding and contains a certain amount of confusion.

First of all, we should realize that the theory that "the premise of China's social reform is concept reform" does not imply that only when all the people acquire new concepts on all issues pertaining to reform will actual reform become possible. It is neither necessary nor possible. The question is whether it is possible, under the situation where the majority still retains the old concepts, for a small number of individuals possessing certain new concepts to go ahead and introduce reform. Where the minority holds plenary power while the majority does what is told, it is on the whole possible. Nevertheless, what we must remind ourselves is that such reform as a rule will not be conducive to a sense of freedom and democracy. The reason is very simple. The fact that reform can be implemented is because of the absence of freedom for the people and an absence of democracy in politics; therefore, how can it turn around and promote true freedom and democracy? Zhang Xianliang's statement that the American way is "let's do it first" is of course excellent, but unfortunately it can only be accomplished in a society under the rule of law. In a society under the rule of law, citizens enjoy the right to act freely and independently (as long as the same right of others is not infringed), while our trouble is that we are too fond of controlling others. In terms of an individual with certain new ideas, unless

he can think of ways to convince others, especially the leaders concerned and win their support, or at least their acquiescence, he will not be able to take a single step. True, long before freedom and equality became society's dominant concepts, the Western bourgeoisie, in line with its interests and inclinations, took action first. Nevertheless, we must know that, in Western feudal society (especially in its final phase), the control of political power was not nearly as great as imagined by some of our comrades. In my view, protecting the citizens' basic rights, changing the situation of excessive centralization of power, and rationally restricting and delegating power constitute the keys to today's social and political reforms. Only when this point is achieved will it become possible for us to go ahead and do it first, without first winning everyone's acceptance. Zhang Xianliang feels that the most important thing today is to support reformers in their efforts. The sentence has no subject: "Who" should support reformers? The reformers themselves? It appears not. He probably refers to the leaders or the people around them, or both. However, to win their support, one must first get them to recognize one as a reformer and admit that what one does is reform, not create trouble. In the absence of such recognition and admission, what will be the consequences? There have been too many lessons of experience in this respect. Thus, instead of appealing for their support of one's reform, it is better to make them understand the necessity to respect citizens' right of self-determination within the law. For the same reason, I find that the suggestion that laws protecting reformers be formulated is also inappropriate. Law cannot be partial; it cannot grant special treatment to a certain category of people, whether known as pioneers or reformers. I understand and support the intent of comrades making the suggestion, but the problem is that they have not found the accurate expression, and their suggestion may possibly lead to unnecessary confusion. Thus, we need to clarify it somewhat.

In that case, how do we achieve the protection of the citizens' basic freedoms and rights and the rational delegation and restriction of power? Naturally we cannot rely simply on the reform of concepts, but must also depend on a series of reforms in laws and systems. Nevertheless, what I wish to stress here is that the reform of concepts indeed comes first. In view of the fact that backward countries in many aspects learn from developed nations, and that to learn implies the mastery of concepts, the reforms of the former as a rule are always initiated by a small number of men of insight spreading advanced ideas. I think that it is best to illustrate concept reform and practical reform, "say" and "do," as the two legs of a man. The current situation noted by Zhang Xianliang is: In terms of some people, concepts have changed while reality has not kept pace; in terms of others, reality has changed while concepts have lagged behind. He warned against focusing on only one side, thereby intensifying the "pains of the times," in order to avoid society's "demolition." It is quite reasonable. The point is that the change of some concepts can and should be temporarily postponed, while we must also believe that, with changes in reality, incorrect concepts surviving in some people's minds will gradually weaken, and that there is no need for us to criticize continuously, for it will only magnify certain unnecessary misunderstandings and even create antagonism. However, the change of another group of concepts must not be slackened or postponed, but must be pursued

vigorously as a foremost task. They include the concept of the citizens' freedoms and rights and the concept of the delegation and restriction of power. Both modern and traditional societies require that the people possess a certain common understanding. The difference is that the latter wanted its people to profess total faith in a large number of moral ideals, religious dogmas, or ideology, while the former demands that people express respect for and act in accordance with their common constitution. Nothing but a piece of paper, the constitution only works when everyone believes in it; it will not work if no one believes in it. A system is not something which automatically produces an effect. China's citizens number in the hundreds of millions, but to date how many of them have a conscious grasp of citizen rights and the rule of law? If no decisive change is promptly made of this grim fact, our state and our reform will be very unstable. The solution of this issue basically belongs within the realm of concept reform. I feel that many comrades, including Zhang Xianliang, can recognize the urgency of the task.

What must also be mentioned is that Zhang Xianliang's article has more or less some flavor of absurdity: He precisely tries to change other people's concept advocating concept reform. We should know that advocating "do it first" and actually "doing it first" are not one and the same--the former is "say," not "do." This is not surprising; intellectuals always deal with concepts, and Zhang Xianliang's particular way of "do" is "say." It is indeed farcical to ask intellectuals to do it first or do more and say less. The question is whether Zhang Xianliang's "words are not equal to their meaning." What people today, especially intellectuals, discuss most are affairs of the state and programs of major reforms. If we borrow an ancient saying, it should be called "idle talk." When the practice of idle talk becomes a vogue, it is both a sign of political enlightenment and its safeguard. As for those doing practical work (including some leaders), if, leaving earnest work aside, they continuously talk about hollow principles (it is something else if the principles are profound) it should be criticized.

I think that it is pretty good for WENYI BAO to make its space available for the discussion of reform. After all, the reform now underway is closely linked with each and everyone of us (including writers). What is important is that writers are also citizens, and citizens should possess a sense of citizenship. In terms of writers, the loss of freedom is the loss of everything. Hoping that this article will be published in WENYI BAO, I specially wish to stress this point.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PAPER DISCUSSES BUREAUCRACY, 'BUILDING DEMOCRATIC POLITICS'

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Hu Xinqun [5170 2450 5028]: "People As Masters' and 'Bureaucrats As Masters'" ]

[Text] The "Resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee analyzes two major historical lessons in the development of China's socialism: "First, the failure to concentrate forces to develop the economy and second, the failure to build democratic politics earnestly." These two lessons had their internal, inevitable, and mutual links. Failing to concentrate forces to develop the economy and having people spend all their time fighting against one another have made it impossible to build democratic politics and promoting "bureaucrats as masters" have made it impossible to concentrate forces to develop the economy. Looked at today this principle has become extremely clear.

Thus, there are the following questions: What is "democratic politics"? What is meant by "building democratic politics earnestly"? Today, these are urgent questions calling for answers.

Ancient Chinese steeped in the culture of ancient China seemed to be unaccustomed to the word "democracy." The concept of rank formed by the feudal economy and autocratic power centralization always severed "people" from "masters." Bureaucrats were the masters and the people the servants. Masters determined the people's destiny, and servants entrusted their vital interests to the personal morals of masters, humbly praying for an "administration of honest bureaucrats." At this late date, people still vociferously talk about "honest bureaucrats." "If a bureaucrat does not decide for the people, he might as well go home and peddle sweet potatoes." Bureaucrats remain the masters of the people, and it is still the politics of "bureaucrats as masters."

On the other hand, when it becomes possible to turn servants into masters, the Chinese people misunderstand it, and lamentably condemn "democracy" as a bourgeois slogan. While loudly singing "stand up and be masters," they instead yield the power of "masters" to leaders serving as "public servants," habitually regard them as "bureaucrats," turn around and hope for more "honest" ones among them, and vigorously extol "honest bureaucrats."

Thus, in the Chinese people's dictionary, "democracy" is defined as the right granted by the "bureaucratic masters" to the people to say a few words. If more than a few words are said, one is suspected of "anarchistic liberalism," while "democracy's" ultimate right of making free decisions is "centralized" in "bureaucrats as masters."

Thus, there are many socialist "honest bureaucrats," and also quite a number of socialist "corrupt bureaucrats." Meanwhile, "corrupt bureaucrats" with a "master's" power in their hands are not that modest. They use power for private gain, bully those below them, readily work at the top but not the bottom, and resolve to be "masters" all their lives. If people wish to recover their "master's" power, "ransoms" must be paid.

Thereupon, many wishing to become "bureaucrats" are engendered. Naturally, most of them at the beginning want to become "honest bureaucrats." Nevertheless, being a "servant" is after all not very interesting, and since there are no "people as masters" and no way to handle the "corrupt bureaucrats," they strive, by fair means or foul, to become "bureaucrats as masters" and counter the "corrupt" with the "honest." As for what happens after becoming "bureaucrats," it is something to be seen in the future.

Benumbed by the politics of "bureaucrats as masters" and believing in "honest bureaucrats," the Chinese people are shackled with the chains of cause and in effect seem to find no way to break away from the age-old master-servant relationship.

"In human history, the concepts of democracy, freedom, equality, and universal brotherhood formed in the struggle of the rising bourgeoisie and the laboring people against feudal autocracy were a great emancipation of man's spirit."--Thus the "Resolution clearly ratified for the first time the position and role of the bourgeoisie in the history of man's ideological emancipation. It also declared: "Basically speaking, bourgeois democracy serves the capitalist system. For the full achievement of the goal of the people as masters, socialism, on the basis of eliminating class oppression and exploitation, has opened the way to raise democracy to a new historical height."

In socialist democracy, the people are the masters. Leaders are also of the people, the only distinction being the difference in occupation. Everyone is a master and everyone a public servant. The supreme adjudication is the socialist legal system, which "embodies the people's will and guarantees their legitimate rights and interests." Just as leaders may punish according to law anyone violating law, the people may also dismiss according to law any incompetent leader. "Everyone is equal before the law." Leaders act according to the people's will and receive the people's "effective supervision." Such a form of democracy and such a legal system, and such unity of democracy and the legal system, constitute the "democratic politics" of socialism.

The "Resolution" pointed out: "A legal system without a socialist democracy is not a socialist legal system; democracy without a socialist legal system is not a socialist democracy." Joining dog fur to mink, I wish to add: Democracy without a socialist legal system is unprotected and hollow; it is anarchism

like a pan of loosw sand. Likewise, a legal system without socialist democracy can only be feudal "rule of man" and the autocratic politics of "bureaucrats as masters."

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the mighty torrent of reforms sweeping across China has rocked the economic and ideological bases of the ancient politics of "bureaucrats as masters." I feel that the Chinese people urgently need to inventory the traditional culture, further emancipate ideology, and consciously master democracy, and that China urgently needs to create and strengthen a socialist legal system, replacing bureaucrats with law and deeply impressing the people's minds with the legal system. In short, Chine must earnestly build the politics of socialist democracy, for otherwise ther is no hope for the reforms to be thorough and for the country to have a future.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ABANDONMENT OF FREE THINKING CAUSE OF 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO IN Chinese 31 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Wang Biao [3769 2871]: "Inalienable Freedom of Thinking"]

[Excerpts] It happened during the "cultural revolution."

A naive and unaffected young person asked a wise and farsighted old man: "We have kept singing: 'As fish cannot live without water and melons cannot grow without the vine, the revolutionary masses cannot be without the Communist Party.' Who depends on whom, after all? Haven't we reversed the relationship between the party and the people?"

The old man was shocked. He put his hand on the youth's shoulder and earnestly admonished him: "Haven't you studied the 'Quotations'? It is dangerous in the world to take things too seriously..."

With an apologetic smile, the old man said: "Better not think about these things, unless you are looking for trouble."

It was a period when thinking was what was needed most. It was also a period when thinking was most unnecessary. Needed, because people had so many doubts in that difficult period of our country. Unnecessary, because the evil shadow of "total dictatorship" was a threat to any ideological question.

I think that while there are tens of thousands of inequalities in this world, the Creator has given mankind two equalities after all: death and freedom of thinking. If we say that for mankind death is characterized by its inescapability and untransferability, then freedom of thinking is different in that it can be given up or sold.

Some people say that the "cultural revolution" was a "revolution against culture." After some careful thinking, I find that is not true. Its destructive forces touched only the utensils of culture. Smashed were only the temples, niches, and clay idols. Not only did the "cultural revolution" fail to touch the profound ideas and concepts, but it actually triggered the unprecedented spreading of such ideas as loyalty to the sovereign, citizens' duties, cultural tyranny, family ties, and asceticism.

As to what caused the "cultural revolution," some hold that it was because there was no check and balance on power under a democratic system. Others assert that it was the lack of a sound and effective legal system. Still others deplore the wrong decision made by the leader himself in a moment of weakness. But there is no denying that there was still another important contributing factor: People gave up their freedom thinking, ignored their sense of right and wrong, followed the wrong guidance, and willingly allowed themselves to be ordered about by others at will. During that period, except children being spoilted by their elders and old people taking care of themselves late in life, everyone of us who gave up the freedom of thinking was blameworthy, even though we ourselves were the ones who suffered.

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CHOICE OF SUITABLE FORM OF DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Zhang Bingfu [1728 4426 1133]: "The Form of Democracy and Specific National Conditions"]

[Text] Lenin once declared: Thoroughly developing democracy, finding the forms of democracy, testing them by practice, and so forth constitute one of the proletariat's important tasks. Previously, we only interpreted the form of democracy as the system of government, but today, it appears that this interpretation is inadequate. The form of democracy should also include the form whereby the people participate in managing the state, namely, the form whereby the state transfers power to the people, to the social organism. It is yet another important implication of the form of democracy.

Today, it has been suggested that the people directly discuss and decide on major state affairs and take part in face-to-face elections, dismissals, and replacements. I feel that the suggestion fails to take into consideration China's basic national conditions. First of all, China's land is vast and its population large. In such a vast sphere and with such a huge population, face-to-face discussions and decisions by all the citizens cannot be accomplished within a short time. Next, the Chinese people's educational level is generally on the low side, and the sense of democracy of the majority poor. Therefore, it is difficult to implement direct democracy among them. Lenin declared that illiterates stand outside politics. He also said: Even though the Soviet Union has in name built the highest type of democracy, due to the people's generally backward cultural level, this political power is depreciated, making its immediate achievement impossible. Third, the people have a strong feudalistic consciousness, but they lack the sense and habits of democracy. After up to 1,000 years of feudalism and over 100 years of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, people were long subjected to the influence of the small-peasant mentality and the bondage of the patriarchal system. In spite of the changes after the founding of the nation, their vestiges remain pronounced. The three points discussed above indicate that China cannot at present completely implement direct democracy. This is the major aspect of the issue. In another aspect, it has been more than 30 years since the founding of the nation, and people have had some contact with democracy and begun to transform from ignorance to familiarity.

They yearn for and ardently love democracy. It provides us with the basic condition for the introduction of direct democracy to different extents within the range of feasibility.

In view of such national conditions, rather than completely implementing direct democracy, it is suitable for China to develop the democratic form of giving priority to indirect democracy and introducing direct democracy within a certain range. The development of indirect democracy is the continued strengthening and perfecting of the people's congress system, especially the creation and reinforcement of supervisory and check-and-balance mechanisms, in order to prevent public servants from severing themselves from the people and degenerating and to enable the congress to embody truly the people's will and represent their interests. Meanwhile, we must gradually expand democracy to all aspects of our political, economic, cultural, and social lives, promote the democratic management of enterprise and business units and autonomous organs of basic-level masses, improve the people's democratic quality, strengthen their sense of democracy and ability to exercise their democratic rights, and create conditions for a complete transition to direct democracy in the future.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SU SHAOZHI DISCUSSES SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION, MODERNIZATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 15 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535] and Wang Yizhou [3769 6654 5297]: "The Development of Spiritual Civilization and the Sense of Modernization"]

[Excerpts] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and ideology" is a historical document of far-reaching significance. Ossified, conservative, content, and dogmatical thinkings not only cannot comprehend this resolution but would distort and undermine its correct implementation.

1. The Development of Spiritual Civilization and Reform

The reforms of economic and political structure which have been carried out and are to be carried out have made the people understand one thing: Structural reform and the adoption of new ideas are inseparable; apart from the changes in the spiritual sphere, it is impossible for profound changes to occur in the structure of system, and various ideological obstacles and doctrines in the sphere of ideology will become a great obstruction to the implementation of reform measures. Conversely, apart from changes in economic and political structure, the awareness of modernization will lack the motive power and basis for its formation, and old ideas and old ways of thinking will as usual continue to control people's minds and behavior. A modernized system needs modernized ideas which in turn need a modernized system.

2. The Development of Spiritual Civilization and the Policy of Opening to the Outside

In the past, people (including many cadres and propaganda workers of our party) thought "opening to the outside" applied to a specifically designated field and had a clear-cut boundary--namely, it was limited only to the importation of foreign capital and technology, the study of others' management methods, the joint development and construction of economic projects, etc. They thought it did not include spiritual and cultural fields, involve the sphere of ideology, or cause any changes outside the sphere of "materials." For instance, they thought "opening to the outside" should not cause repercussions in regard to ideology, literature and arts; otherwise, it would create some kind of spiritual "pollution." This

understanding and various behaviors as a result of such understanding are, as pointed out in the criticism of the resolution, in fact an expression of "ignorant" and "closed-door policy" in the sphere of ideology and culture.

The theory of modernization reveals to us that modernization should not be demonstrated only as the modernization of the technological stratum of society. It should be demonstrated particularly as the modernization of inner strata of society such as ideology, literature, arts, and psychological pattern. Modernized social and economic structure should grow in tandem with modernized physical and mental structure--namely modernized people.

### 3. The Development of Spiritual Civilization and the Renovation of Marxism

We should admit that in the past several decades, due to the influence of "leftist" ideas and some other reasons, we often applied "Marxism as ossified doctrine" and excessively used "ossified ideas to judge life," economic management, literature and arts, social affairs, civil rights, moral standards, good and bad, and right and wrong and to manage many things which should not be managed, thereby resulting in serious consequences. Today, our party draws a lesson from a bitter experience and are determined to prevent past tragedies from recurring.

Marxism is a science where there are no limits or forbidden zones. A law of scientific progress is that it must be subjected to the test of facts and harsh criticism, conduct harsh self-criticism, and eliminate erroneous things. Another requirement of scientific development is that it rejects all authorities, negates coercion and judgement as being above science and contention, and despises "orthodox" or "final" opinions. If we want to consider Marxism as a science instead of the "Bible," if we want it to continue to have the ability to make progress and the characteristics of times, if we want to use it to guide different work to avoid errors, then we must follow the general requirements of science.

### 4. The Development of Spiritual Civilization and Opposing Feudal Autocracy

An important task of spiritual and cultural development is to eliminate the influence of feudal autocracy and develop democratic political culture in all aspects of social life.

Spiritual civilization is a broad concept. It is the antonym of "uncivilized ideology" and "barbarian ideology." Judged from China's reality, the autocracy and ignorance of ideology and culture caused by historical and external factors are the expressions of "uncivilized ideology" and "barbarian ideology." We can find many similar phenomena of such autocracy and ignorance which are to varying degrees linked to feudal autocracy. For instance, feudal society left an orthodox concept of foolish loyalists depending on a "holy emperor, wise prime minister, and upright magistrate" which contradicts the concept that the "people make their own decisions" and demands that "officials make decisions for the people." The traditional ideas that "corporal punishment does not apply to senior officials and ethical codes do not apply to common people" and that "the emperor is the state and the law" are diametrically opposed to the modern democratic ideas that everybody is equal

before the law and that there is no privileged citizen under the law. The despotic action of "burning books and burying scholars" and the arbitrary decision of "abolishing all schools of thoughts and honoring only the Confucian school" both represent barbaric, autocratic, and irrational spiritual demands. Such instances, which are too numerous to mention one by one, all run counter to modern spiritual civilization.

In sum, the most essential content and requirement of the development of spiritual civilization should be to promote and develop a scientific and democratic spirit. First of all, it should develop the independent thinking ability of the people, encourage the critical ideology of individuals, and cultivate the creative quality of citizens. Second, it should establish a democratic political atmosphere, bring about a situation of diversified thinking, cultivate the good habit of everybody abiding by law and discipline. The resolution reiterated the basic principles which we have followed since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They are: Without democracy, there will be no socialist modernization; democracy should be legalized and systemized; the party must operate within the range permitted by the Constitution and law; and conscientious efforts should be made to promote the democracy of the political life of the party and the state, the democracy of economic management, and the democracy of the whole of social life.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOCIALIST, BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY CONTRASTED

Zhengzhou HENAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by Lin Jinzhu [2651 6855 2691]: "Socialist Democracy Builds upon Bourgeois Democracy"]

[Text] Comrade Xiaochun [5135 2504]:

In your letter, you said that some comrades at your factory cannot make out the relations between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. Here let me make some comments based on my understanding of this matter for your consideration.

As we know, bourgeois democratic thought emerged in the 16th century, but its institutionalization took place gradually during the bourgeois revolution in the 17th and 18th centuries. The major characteristics of bourgeois democracy are these: separation of powers, with the executive, legislative, and judicial branches each having its separate powers and functions so that over-centralization and personal dictatorship are avoided; the abolition of the hereditary system and life tenure for presidents and members of parliament to prevent the formation of a new privileged class and the resurgence of feudalism; and an on-going effort to improve the law and legal institutions to ensure the normal operation, continuity, and development of bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy crystallized over time as the proletariat struggled with the bourgeoisie against feudal autocracy and then against the bourgeoisie itself. Therefore, between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy is a certain degree of continuity. Take the election system, for instance. Though an important part of bourgeois democracy, elections had been used by the proletariat to educate and organize the masses during its struggle against feudal autocracy and the bourgeoisie. Under socialism, the proletariat and the mass of working people became the masters of the state and came to enjoy genuine rights to elect and be elected. It can thus be seen that elections under socialism are a continuation of bourgeois elections, only more thorough and more far-reaching. Lenin points out, "With a unique thoroughness and extensiveness, the Soviet regime has furthered one aspect of bourgeois democracy that is the hallmark of its great historic advance upon medievalism, namely the right of a resident to take part in the election of officials." Or take the parliamentary system, the very heart of bourgeois democracy and its most essential component. It was a sharp weapon used by the

proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. After the proletariat seized power, it was adopted critically and became a working institution of the proletariat. The committee system of the Paris Commune in history, the soviet system in the Soviet Union, the delegation system in Yugoslavia, and the people's congress in China are all variations on the parliamentary system. A major task facing us now is to continue to improve the parliamentary system as a working institution to meet the requirements of developing a planned socialist commodity economy.

The slogans of freedom, equality, and fraternity are closely related to bourgeois democracy. The bourgeois concept of freedom includes freedoms of employment, trade, speech, publication, association, and so on. The socialist concept of freedom continued and built upon its bourgeois counterpart, giving it new substance. The Chinese constitution, for example, provides the people with freedoms of religion, speech, publication, assembly, association, rally, and demonstration. It gives all nationalities the freedom to use and develop their languages and keep or reform their customs and habits. The constitution also stipulates that a citizen's freedom of person not be violated. The difference is that we have ridden these freedoms and rights of their bourgeois essence and endowed them with new class attributes. The bourgeois notion of equality was a political slogan put forward as the rising bourgeoisie struggled against feudal autocracy. Its purpose was to oppose feudal hierarchy and privilege. It was held that man was born equal and endowed by nature with such inalienable rights as freedom and equality. These ideas of equality were consistent with the historical trend and had the support of the masses at the time. The socialist concept of equality opposes feudal privilege, calls for the overthrow of the rule of the feudal landlord class, and, more important still, aims at eliminating private ownership and exploitation, overthrowing bourgeois rule, abolishing classes, and bringing about true equality. This is exactly why socialist equality differs essentially from bourgeois class equality and why it represents a new form of equality superior to the latter. At the beginning, fraternity was a political slogan sounded by the bourgeoisie along with freedom and equality as it struggled against feudal autocracy, class privilege, and personal patronage. After the bourgeoisie acquired power, however, the slogan became a smokescreen hiding its oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and laboring people. Only in a socialist society after the abolition of exploitation and the exploiting class can "fraternity" be fully realized. Only then can "new socialist relations of equality, unity, friendship, and mutual assistance be established between different nationalities; among workers, peasants, and intellectuals; between the military and civilians; between cadres and the masses; within families; among neighbors; and in all interactions among the people."

It can thus be seen that socialist notions of democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity were a critical continuation of and evolved from bourgeois ideas of "democracy," "freedom," "equality," and "fraternity." The two sets of ideas are intimately related to, and basically differ from, each other. This should be common Marxist knowledge. Owing to "leftist" influences and the metaphysical way of looking at things, however, some comrades have argued for years that the socialist system was founded on the "smashing" of the bourgeois state apparatus and is a negation of capitalism, so there is no such thing as

socialism inheriting from capitalism. Clearly this argument is not tenable. According to the Marxist theory of negation, in building new things we should not throw out all old things, lock, stock, and barrel. In other words, we should discard what is negative, but retain all that is good among old things and make it part and parcel of new things so that it can be further developed. For socialism to negate capitalism, it must effect a clean break with the latter politically, economically, and ideologically and repudiate it intrinsically. Yet we must critically inherit from capitalist society all its fine material and cultural achievements. Only thus can the building of the two socialist civilizations be elevated to a new high.

12581

CSO: 4005/296

EQUATING REFORM WITH PLURALISM DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO GAODENG JIAOYU [CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION] in Chinese No 10, 1986 pp 5-10, 35

[Article by Huang Dansen [7806 0030 32606 2773]: "Political and Economic Pluralism Has No Place in China"]

[Excerpt] Are Reforms in China Economic and Political Pluralism?

If we cannot sum up internal relations in a capitalist nation as pluralistic, still less can we describe China's internal relations or generalize its structural reforms as pluralistic. It is true that in order to reinvigorate the economy and open the country to the outside world, China allows the existence and development of an individual private economy and has established a host of Chinese-foreign joint ventures, cooperative ventures, and foreign-owned enterprises. In special economic zones, it will be state capitalism featuring Chinese-foreign joint ventures which will play the leading economic role. After the return of Hong Kong to the motherland and the reunification of Taiwan and the mainland, the economies of both Hong Kong and Taiwan will stay capitalist in accordance with the principle of one nation, two systems. In these two places, socialist economic elements can only operate under capitalist economic laws. In addition, both urban and rural areas in China must energetically develop commodity production, that is, expand and further the effect of the law of value. All this is either a fact or will become one. However, we cannot call this economic pluralization. This is because China's economic system is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production and, despite the existence of various economic forms, the socialist state-owned sector of the economy plays the leading role. China's economic system remains essentially socialist. The individual economy run by rural and urban laborers operates within limits defined by law and are only a supplement to the socialist public economy. In the past our understanding of socialism was too simplistic, and too abstract. We assumed the more public ownership there was, the better. We were so preoccupied with its uniformity or unity that we ignored the diversification of socialist economic forms. Consequently, the superiority of socialism was not fully exploited and productive forces were stunted, unable to grow as fast as they should. The significance of the restructuring of the economic system lies in improving the specific links in the socialist system to adapt them to the needs of production development and hence expedite the expansion of social productive forces. Also, we used to

regard private ownership one-sidedly in absolute terms. What we failed to notice is its beneficial effect, albeit limited, on production development under the present level of productive forces. We also failed to see that production development requires importing advanced technology, managerial techniques, and foreign capital. We used to think a commodity economy is totally incompatible with a planned economy and failed to understand the immense significance of commodity production for production development in China. It can be said that the economy was over-centralized and overly rigid in the past. The restructuring of the economic system has diversified the detailed substance of the socialist economic system to meet the particular conditions of different localities and industries. But this is not the same thing as abolishing unity or the leading role of the socialist public economy. We can call it diversification, but certainly not pluralism. No matter how the economic system is changed, all changes will stay within the bounds of socialism and will only strengthen, not weaken, it. If we go and play with economic pluralism, we will be abandoning socialism, not upholding it. That will not work in this country and will be vehemently opposed by the masses and cadres. An important measure in the restructuring of the economic system involves higher authorities delegating a certain amount of personnel, financial, and managerial powers to subordinate socialist enterprises to give them more autonomy and invigorate them. This move has proved instrumental in boosting enterprise production. The idea is to straighten out the relations between the higher levels and subordinate organizations, between the center and local authorities, between administrative agencies and enterprises, and between centralization and decentralization, making them even more united. Such changes definitely cannot be generalized as pluralism, either.

Economic change is necessarily reflected in politics, but the reflection is not one of political pluralism, but of the strengthening of democracy and the rule of law. The multi-party system in Western nations (in which several parties exist, participate in elections, and take turns running the government) is determined by competition and infighting within the bourgeoisie; none of the parties represents the interests of the vast numbers of working people. From the perspective of inter-party relations, that is pluralism; but as was analyzed above, this is no absolute pluralism either. With the exception of a state of anarchy, not a single unified nation has a basic political system which is pluralistic. Even the multi-party system of the West, a limited form of pluralism, will not work in China. Our country's basic political system is a democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat and based on a worker-peasant alliance. Multi-party cooperation under the CPC's leadership is a characteristic of and source of strength in China's political system. All political parties accept the CPC's leadership, abide by the constitution in their activities, serve the socialist enterprise, and take part in deliberating and deciding major issues in national political life. Their leaders and many members have taken part in national political work. Consequently, democratic parties are not out of office. Nor are they opposition parties. If we mechanically copy the multi-party system of the West, it would mean giving up or rejecting the leadership of the CPC and turning the democratic parties into out-of-office opposition parties. This will be a historical regression which will not only go against the wishes and basic interests of the entire Chinese people, but will also be opposed by the democratic parties because the leadership of the party was not self-conferred

but developed naturally after many ups and downs during a long revolutionary struggle. It still plays a central leading role today and will continue to do so. Without the CPC's leadership, the successful conduct and triumphant conclusion of the four modernizations is unimaginable. In no way does democratic dictatorship by the proletariat under the CPC's leadership suggest a weakening of democracy or the rule of law. On the contrary, it requires us to establish an advanced socialist democratic system and strengthen the rule of law. The aim is to improve and further our basic political system, not to pluralize it. If we take democracy to mean pluralism, that would be a manifestation of "absolute freedom" and "absolute democracy." Democracy does not amount to freedom. Individual freedom must be qualified in any society; absolute freedom does not exist. Individual freedom does not mean that everybody can act as though he were the center. Needless to say, one condition for political democracy is a certain measure of freedom, but it includes something more than freedom, namely the idea of the minority subordinate to the majority. All the more reason, therefore, should democracy not be equated with pluralism. Consequently, building social democracy definitely must not be equated with political pluralism.

After liberation, the Chinese people experienced genuine democracy for the first time, with which bourgeois democracy, which is sham democracy to a certain extent, cannot be compared. However, because Chinese society had skipped the stage of bourgeois democracy, feudal ideas remained, such as the patriarchal mentality, bureaucratism, the idea of social stratification, clannishness, etc., which we failed to eradicate for years. Later they even teamed up with "leftist" ideas and became more and more blatant, culminating in the 10-year disaster of the Cultural Revolution. These ideas have become one of the ideological sources of the unhealthy trend today. If they are not uprooted and advanced socialist democracy is not established, the success of the four modernizations would be unthinkable. To build advanced socialist democracy, the CPC Central Committee recently put forward the task of restructuring the political system, which requires us, first and foremost, to recognize and honor in spirit a citizen's various political freedoms and rights and improve and perfect the specific linkages in China's political system. Building social democracy also involves learning from certain logical things in the Western democratic system, particularly some of its forms, but even here we cannot borrow everything mechanically. The bourgeois multi-party system suits capitalism, not socialism. The socialist economic system is not pluralistic, and neither is the social political system. We believe that guided by Marxism, and led by the CPC, we will surely successfully accomplish the mission of restructuring the political system and building socialist democracy far superior to bourgeois democracy as long as we satisfy the requirements of the four modernizations and the restructuring of the economic system.

An individual has various democratic rights and freedoms. But interpersonal relations in a socialist society are definitely non-pluralistic. The implementation of these rights should benefit, or at least not harm, the interests of the people. That is why we need a socialist legal system and morals to restrain individual behavior so that it does not infringe upon the interests of society or other people. Egocentrism is denounced by public opinion in a socialist society, and if it expresses itself in illegal behavior, it will be punished according to law.

12581  
CSO: 4005/264

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FREEDOM OF SPEECH DISCUSSED

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Wu Guoguang [0702 0948 0342]: "Liberate the Mouth"]

[Text] A normal mouth performs at least two basic functions, namely, eating and speaking.

The problem of eating which has caused much headache was not solved until recently. The huge success of rural economic reform has written a brand-new chapter in the history of struggle for food in China. We may say that we can now eat to appease hunger, and many have gone further to talk about nutrition and taste. Our mouth has been liberated as far as eating is concerned.

Talking is likewise a problem causing much headache. Most feudal rulers in the past were very afraid of the people's voice. It was not easy for views to be aired freely even within the feudal ruling class. However, since people have mouths, they must speak. Whether they can speak freely or not has always been an important question in ruling the country. Since feudal despotism would by its very nature stifle the freedoms of thought and speech, the history of China has been, on the whole, a record of suppression of the freedom of speech, although such suppression was relaxed to a certain extent every now and then. The stories of Qin Shihuang who burned books and buried scholars alive, and Emperor Wu of Han who rejected all schools of thought are the most familiar ones. The severity in banning the freedom of speech and the prevalence of literary inquisitions in the declining years of each dynasty even made people boil with rage. The saying "guarding the people's mouth is more important than guarding a flooding river" plainly showed that the simple act of speaking was treated as fierce floods and savage beasts.

In such an atmosphere of horror, even the slightest indiscretion may bring disaster. That is why Chinese people are always very cautious in saying anything. The words "disaster comes out of the mouth" were indeed written in tear and blood. Other maxims for people to get around in the world are: "When you speak to other people, express only 30 percent of your ideas; never empty your chest"; "Better talk less, even though you know it is wrong." Thus the situation of "ten thousand horses standing mute" has lasted 2,000 years. Everyone kept their mouths closed as though they were haltered. "I want to walk, but my legs refuse to move; I open my mouth, but can only speaking

haltingly." Thus speaking has become a source of trouble. When something must be said, people would say only the insignificant part of it. Some people consider it an art to make empty or tricky talk, or even to lie and to flatter in order to avoid disasters and win favors. Thus the mouth has become a tool to be pitied and feared.

It is an even more painful thought that this situation remains more than 30 years after Liberation. The socialist cause has suffered tremendously under the sway of the ultraleftist line. Under a socialist system, people should have their freedom of thinking and freedom of speech. These freedoms, though spelled out in the Constitution, were not actually guaranteed. In social life, the broad masses' freedom of speech did not materialize, and instances of intellectuals and cadres getting into trouble for being outspoken are by no means rare. The existence of many theoretical forbidden zones, the animosity against and attacks on the spirit of seeking truth and the spirit of exploration, the deterioration of and strain on human relationship, the idea of power above all things culminating in "only what I say counts" all boiled down to a negation of the freedom of speech. These unhealthy elements were carried to extremes particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and later led to violent explosions. People's freedom and democratic rights were trampled underfoot. Although this situation has been basically reversed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, people are still time and again found guilty of being outspoken. On the other hand, there are also people using "bourgeois liberalization" as a pretext for brandishing the big stick and setting up checkpoints everywhere. Freedom of speech after all has not materialized.

The Mouth is the gate of the spirit. Freedom of speech is a manifestation and guarantee of freedom of thinking. Engels said: "Speech is the direct expression of thoughts." Thus we can say that freedom of speech is the direct expression of free thinking. In building socialism, promoting modernization, and conducting reforms, we must fully arouse the people's enthusiasm, and encourage them to think over problems, to express their views, and to offer ideas and suggestions, or we cannot succeed. That is why we must guarantee people's freedom of thinking and then people's freedom of speech. This conclusion implies certain utilitarian concept. Basically, communism aims at people's all-round development, and people's development should be preceded by the development and improvement of their mental health. If the gate of spirit is tightly closed, how can the spirit be developed and improved? Therefore, freedom of speech and freedom of thinking are people's inherent rights, and an important yardstick of the extent of the healthy development and advance of our society. In either theory or practice, there is no reason why people's freedom of speech and freedom of thinking are not actually safeguarded. Therefore, our minds and mouths must be liberated.

Does liberation of the mouth mean that in the future, we will not be subjected to any restriction at all? There will be restrictions--natural but not arbitrary restrictions. We certainly would not eat gravel and dirt after the liberation of our mouths. Similarly, because of this liberation, we cannot indulge in street brawls, slander, or character assassination all day long. In fact, only unliberated mouths would provide the breeding ground of this kind of bad behavior. In the case of eating, have not people eaten Guanyin

clay and bark? The precise cause is that their mouths were not yet liberated. Once they were liberated, the people might try something they had never eaten before. However, they did this as an exploration, in the same way some people eat red persimmon and crabs in those years. The same situation and line of reasoning apply to speaking.

The question of eating, in the finally analysis, concerns the extent of productive force development, while that of speaking concerns the development of spiritual freedom. The question of eating may be more urgent and realistic, but that of speaking cannot be dismissed as a trivial matter. Only human beings can speak. Therefore, in a certain sense, we may say that only the solution of the speaking problem may lead to the solution of the problem of people's material development and improvement. If they have no freedom of speech, aren't they like pigs, even though they can eat better? If their spiritual freedom is not developed, their further material enrichment and development will not be possible. The most basic motive force for the rapid development of productive forces can be found only when people's spiritual freedom is developed and their potential is fully tapped.

The process of liberating the mouth is one of developing productive forces and spiritual freedom, and is also a highlight of human progress in history. In our struggle for human progress, it is imperative that we advocate the liberation of the mouth!

9411  
CSO: 4005/349

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

FREEDOM FOR LEGAL LITERATURE DISCUSSED

Beijing WENXUE BAO in Chinese 23 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Jiang Xun [3068 6598]: "Liu Binyan Appeals for Greater Freedom for Legal Literature"]

[Text] "Legal literature should be developed, but if it is not given greater creative freedom and more favorable conditions, its development will be difficult." It was a point repeatedly stressed by Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159] when interviewed by this reporter on 14 October.

Liu Binyan declared: "Legal literature is a special product of China. Under the condition of generally falling distributions of literary publications legal literature is maintaining the momentum of sustained rise, indicating the necessity of its existence and its popularity with the vast number of readers. China has a large number of illiterates and people ignorant of the law; therefore, the existence of legal literature is necessary and practical."

He said: "Today's legal literature contains a large number of cases. Some people criticize it by asking whether it is legal literature or crime literature. In my view, writing about the details of cases is not necessarily describing crimes, but some side effects may possibly be produced. Today's legal literature creations all involve cases, and writers can do nothing about it. Actually, legal literature covers a broad range of substances, but a considerable part is a forbidden zone which cannot and may not be described. In the legal realm, fairly serious problems are found. Some lawyers have been subjected to brutal infringements on their rights and accused as defenders of criminals. In some areas, upright lawyers have been expelled from court, and even bound and paraded through the streets, but their mishaps are seldom described in literature.

"A habit formed over a long time is the reluctance to make problems in our lives public. Instead, they are concealed and covered up with the feeling that only thus are we benefited. Actually, even if we do not describe them, the common people can see things clearly. Why do we not make use of legal literature to mirror the actual situation? At present, compared with problems encountered in real life, what is revealed is minimal. There are many articles urging readers to be law-abiding, but there seem to be too few informing them of the rights of citizens and the ways to protect such rights."

He said: "Legal literature also has its different levels, including the serious and profound as well as the popular, and valuable articles can be created. In recent years, creations in legal literature have not proved satisfactory. Some are expansions of simple cases and others cater to vulgar interests. The situation awaits the improvement of the quality of writers. Su Xiaokang's [5685 2556 1660] highly acclaimed long report 'Gigantic Fission of Yin Yang' involves the legal system. Our writers should devote a part of their energy on the creation of legal literature."

The sexagenarian Liu Binyan passed by Shanghai after attending the legal literature symposium in Anqing. After a 2-hour talk, upon invitation by the Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, on society, life, and literature he agreed to an interview by this reporter. The monograph of his report "Biography of a Remarkable Person in the Northeast" was recently published by the publishing house. He informed the reporter that his current conditions were good, except that he was too busy, and that he still had unfinished themes, promised manuscripts uncompleted, letters unread and unanswered, and endless visitors to be received.

6080/12951  
CSO: 4005/214

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUGGESTIONS MADE TO YOUTH LITERARY SALON

Beijing WENXUE BAO in Chinese 23 Oct 86 p 1

[Letter from Vice Minister of Culture Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382] to the Guangzhou Youth Literary Salon; first 3 paragraphs are source-supplied in traduction]

[Text] Editor: For the purpose of rallying all youth literary organizations and fostering and training young writers and artists, the Guangzhou Youth Literary Salon, sponsored by the Guangzhou Youth Federation and other units, by means of stressing friendship through literature, launching all kinds of creative guidance, academic discussions, and work exhibits, and initiating friendly exchanges with literary and artistic organizations of other areas and the Hong Kong-Macao region. Has opened a new path to guide and popularize mass literature and art.

In his letter to the salon, Gao Zhanxiang's statement that its proper operation in the new period is a new task deserves our pondering. Today, mass literary and artistic activities have been widely launched, and literary and artistic organizations of all types are emerging like bamboo shoots after a spring rain. They have among them seeds of an important force for a flourishing socialist literature and art in the future. The five points of Gao Zhanxiang's views in his letter have a general guiding significance to mass literary and artistic organizations of all types.

In his recent letter of congratulations to the Guangzhou Youth Literary Salon on its inauguration, Vice Minister of Culture Gao Zhanxiang made five suggestions.

To the Guandong DANGDAI WENTAN BAO [CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE PRESS] Editorial Department, Guangzhou City Youth Federation, Guangzhou City Youth Cultural Palace, and Young Friends of the Guangzhou Youth Literary Salon:

Greetings! In this golden fall season of rich harvests, I am happy to learn of the inauguration of the Guangzhou Youth Literary Salon, and I wish to extend my warm congratulations.

Rallying and organizing young writers and artists throughout the city by means of various forms of literary salons, providing them with a base for academic

discussions and theoretical explorations, helping them improve their literary and artistic qualities, and supporting the activities of literary organizations constitute meaningful endeavors.

To develop the literature and art of our motherland, we must not only rely on professional writers and artists but also fully develop the enthusiasm and creativity of the vast number of spare-time talents. I came into contact with many young people of literary organizations when working in Hebei. They were assiduous and full of vitality, enthusiasm, and originality. Many talented people were found among them, and many good works rich in the flavor of life were produced. Some of the works were artistically immature, but, with careful fostering, the young people will become an important force in the development of socialist literature and art.

Properly promoting the activities of the literary salon is our common desire. How to operate it properly in the new period is perhaps a new task, and I hope you will, in practice, analyze your experiences in this respect. Here I wish to express briefly several of my points of view for your reference.

1. Combining popularization and improvement, the forms of activities must be vivid, lively, rich, and diverse in order to answer the needs of young people of different levels. Only by so doing will the salon be attractive, centripetal, and vital.
2. The purpose of the salon should be the training of talents, especially the cream of the crop, and include theoretical, as well as creative, writers. Future great masters of literature of a generation may possibly come from the cradle of the salon.
3. In its activities, the salon must provide a harmonious and friendly atmosphere and advocate and develop a new trend of contending. In the course of contending the young people must learn from one another and respect one another; they must learn from one another while expressing their own views. By so doing, it will be conducive to common improvement in the course of contending and common progress in the course of exploration.
4. The salon must include among its activities forming friendships through literature, properly making contacts with young writers in the interior and in Hong Kong and Macao, and utilize the geographical advantage of Guangzhou to promote cultural exchanges with foreign countries.
5. In its activities, the salon must aim at enriching socialist life and rely on the strengths of all quarters in society for its proper operation, with special attention on gaining the understanding, interest, and support of all pertinent departments and units.

May 100 flowers of literature bloom in your salon!

I salute you..

Gao Zhanxiang  
20 September 1986  
6080/12951  
CSO: 4005/214

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 15 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Yang Haibo [2799 3189 3134]: "Improving Leadership in Higher Education is Essential to Socialist Construction"]

[Text] Under the leadership of provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal party committees and all relevant ministries and departments, leadership development at institutions of higher education has undergone great changes following adjustments in the last few years. Many outstanding young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leadership positions. The standards of the "four transformations" of cadres have gone up noticeably and cadres have become more competent. Problems inherited from history have basically been resolved. People running the institutions now have a clear sense of direction and have achieved gratifying results in their work. This is the main trend and should be fully endorsed. But we must also see that after they were installed, the new leaders, for various reasons, have not adapted to opening to the outside world, to reform, and to the requirements of advancing their work. One of the major tasks facing leaderships at all institutions of higher education is to intensify their self-development in earnest, work hard to raise the standard of scientific management, and improve the leadership system and work efficiency.

The CPC Central Committee has consistently taken leadership development in higher education very seriously, pointing out that the success of the four modernizations hinges on leadership. We should fully appreciate the profound significance of strengthening leadership development from this strategic high and further it.

Higher educational institutions play a crucial role in the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Higher education is a key integral part of education as a whole. At present institutions of higher education are confronted with these circumstances. First, total reform. The reform of institutions of higher education should benefit the exploitation of intellectual resources and help train all kinds of qualified personnel who meet social requirements in larger numbers and of a better quality to serve socialist construction. Second, the new high-tech revolution in the world. Institutions of higher education should take up the research and development of new technology open up new disciplines. We must study the Star Wars

program of the United States, the comprehensive program for scientific progress of the Soviet Union, the Eureka Plan of Europe, and the scientific development plan of Japan, and map out countermeasures so as to meet the challenge of the new high-tech revolution. Third, domestic economic construction. Today large and medium-sized cities, particularly some urban centers, have become more and more dependent on universities for their development. Integrated educational, research, and production organizations have proliferated in many cities, as have numerous knowledge-intensive industries. The challenge of the high-tech revolution and economic development has made more stringent demands and imposed new tasks on institutions of higher education; they must, first, deliver qualified personnel; second, produce scientific research results; and, third, put intellectual resources and information at the service of socialist construction.

Developments in international and domestic situations make it imperative that the level of leadership in higher education be further improved. And the level of leadership depends on whether leaders can develop correct leadership concepts. What sort of leadership concepts must the leadership of an institution of higher education have? The following ideas are put forward as a reference:

First, take the party's overall objectives as a starting point and develop a general perspective.

The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Guidelines for the Building of a Socialist Spiritual Civilization" says, "Make economic construction the centerpiece of our work. Firmly and unswervingly restructure the economic and political systems and intensify the building of a spiritual civilization. Also, coordinate these various areas of work so that they stimulate one another." Such is the general blueprint of China's socialist modernization. We must follow this blueprint in order that the people will enjoy a moderately comfortable standard of living by the end of the century and a standard approaching the highest in the world by the middle of next century. This is the people's common aspiration at the moment. Construction at every institution of higher education should aim to satisfy this overriding demand. An institution of higher education is a grassroots unit writ large. Because of its full lineup of academic disciplines, its comprehensive scientific research tools, and its concentration of knowledge, institutions of higher education are closely related to economic construction overall. That is why leaderships at higher educational institutions must constantly study the party's general line, objectives, principles, and policies and remain politically consistent with the party. This is one concept which leaders in higher education must develop. They must also firmly and unswervingly combine the CPC Central Committee's line, policies, and principles with their particular institution's realities and carry them out creatively.

Second, nurture the idea that "leadership is service."

According to the "Decision" on educational reform, education must serve socialist construction. On the one hand, an institution of higher education must understand economic construction in the nation as a whole. On the other

hand, it must understand economic construction in the province, autonomous region, or municipality where it is located. Only with this understanding can the institution take its realities as the starting point and proceed to draw up a development plan based on the overall situation. Only then can it train all kinds of qualified personnel, taking into account local conditions, and put forward ideas benefiting local socialist construction to local party and government organs, enterprises, and other institutions. Moreover, institutions of higher education should examine and review the current new experience in which education, scientific research, and production are integrated. Divorced from scientific research, the quality of teaching cannot be improved. To transform scientific research achievements into productive forces speedily, education must join forces with production. Therefore, we must link education, research, and production even more closely and, through this linkage, train every type of skilled personnel. Apart from undergraduate and graduate students, higher educational institutions must train other types of expertise; they are required by society nowadays to train a diverse range of talent. Institutions must fully tap their potential and carry out this mission with even better results. Not long ago I was in Hebei and saw flourishing township and town enterprises there. In order to develop, these enterprises urgently need to vigorously push for professional technical education. Currently, however, there is an acute shortage of teachers in technical education. Some institutions of higher education can help eliminate the shortage by training technical teachers. In short, leaders must cultivate the idea of serving socialist construction, which will further educational reform. At the same time, they must also work out the dependency of socialist construction on education. Only by resolving this dialectical relationship can education enter a new stage.

Third, inculcate the ideas of scientific management and high efficiency.

Scientific management has appeared to be more and more crucial today. The standard of management at an institution significantly affects its work. An orchestra may have first-rate pianists and violinists, but if it lacks a good conductor, it still will not be able to perform well. Management in higher education is extremely complex; it is a piece of systems engineering. To manage well, its leaders must observe objective educational principles and develop the concept of scientific management and high efficiency. Management is presently an important issue in the four modernizations. As socialist construction evolves, some large enterprises and a number of major projects will approach colleges or universities with a steady flow of diverse questions. Old concepts, small production methods, and natural economic principles no longer work in this vast, complex piece of engineering: only modern management ideas will do. This is particularly true now that we are faced with the challenge of the high-tech revolution, that the transition from scientific invention to conversion to productive forces is getting shorter and shorter, and that the 1980's are considerably different from the 1970's. We must study scientific management, open to the outside world, absorb foreign scientific managerial experience, examine it closely, and make use of it. We absolutely must not stand still and refuse to move forward; nor can we be conservative and follow the beaten path. A major characteristic of modern management is its nature as a comprehensive piece of systems engineering. By modern management, we refer to the organization and utilization of human,

financial, and material resources under the guidance of a general plan to bring out to the full the best in our socialist system. If we are serious about scientific management and want to establish systems engineering, we must set up machinery for decision-making, practice democratic and scientific decision-making, be resourceful and decisive, beef up information work, intensify grassroots work, and put decision-making on a solid dependable basis. Moreover, we must establish competent, well-organized, and action-oriented executive machinery and supervisory machinery to ensure that the institution's work is carried out properly and fully in accordance with the general plan and correct policies. We must also set up feedback mechanisms, improve our plan through continuous practice, and elevate our work to a higher standard. Scientific management requires us to set up a complete apparatus.

To improve work efficiency, the leadership must separate party functions from state functions and put an end to the fusion between party and state and the replacement of the state by the party. Whether it follows a presidential responsibility system or a system of presidential responsibility under the leadership of the party committee, an institution of higher education must sever party from state functionally. But we must move ahead toward a common goal and go about our work in a coordinated way. We must build up leadership in accordance with the principles of administrative leanness and efficiency and put the system of cadre personal responsibility on a sound footing. We must define jurisdictions, decide on a staffing level, and fix responsibilities and functions. We must establish rules and regulations and assess performance regularly. All these are necessary conditions for improving work efficiency and strengthening scientific management. People who are responsible and conscientious and have results to show for their efforts must be rewarded, while those who are derelict in the performance of their duty must be punished. That is the way to motivate cadres at all levels as well as to pressure them into showing a stronger sense of responsibility and raise efficiency. We must reconcile leadership and managerial work with professional work; it is particularly necessary for scholars and academics discharging leadership duties to do so. Furthermore we must make it a point to use old cadres and educators who have withdrawn to the second echelon as advisers and consultants.

#### Fourth, foster democratic centralism and bring out group strengths.

In building up leadership at institutions of higher education, we must go out of our way to rationalize the group structure and bring out its strengths. Without such strengths, the building of leadership in higher education would be flawed and incomplete. One important aspect of group structure is knowledge structure. To train qualified persons who are all-around--moral, intelligent, physically fit, and aesthetic--the leadership must include specialists in other fields as well as outstanding experts in political and ideological work, scholars in the arts as well as professors of the sciences. At institutions where the presidency is held by an expert or academic, there should be a vice president with strong managerial skills. That way the group structure will be more rational. Another key aspect of group structure is age structure. Judging from the present situation, comrades about 50 years of age should be the dominant element in higher educational leadership. In addition, comrades around 40 years old should be absorbed into the ranks of leadership.

There must be an earnest effort to groom young reserve cadres, but special attention should also be paid to making use of the skills of old comrades who are physically healthy and highly experienced in education. A third aspect of the group structure concerns the styles, personalities, and dispositions of individual leaders. They should be teamed up in such a way as to complement one another, with one making up for the other's weaknesses. For instance, some leading comrades are more aggressive in personality and style and are apt to act boldly. They should be teamed up with comrades who are deliberate and steady and are given to weighing a matter carefully so that the collective superiority of the leadership is brought into play.

An essential condition for exploiting collective superiority is adherence to the principle of democratic centralism. To do so, we must accomplish three things. First, major issues must be decided collectively after group deliberations. Top leaders must be willing to heed the opinions of the masses and be good at summing up ideas and mobilizing the initiative of a group of people. Second, there must be division of labor with individual responsibility, which must be combined with collective leadership. A comrade assigned a particular job and held responsible for it must tackle it boldly and vigorously. Third, members of the leadership must coordinate their moves, maintain open lines of communication, keep one another informed, and support one another. They work on separate tasks without going separate ways. Not a single one of these three things can be dispensed with. Only thus can we exploit collective superiority more effectively.

#### Fifth, develop the consciousness of safeguarding unity.

Whether a leader protects the unity of the leadership conscientiously is a vital measure of the intensity of his party spirit. An important quality of a leader is his ability to unite people. As the saying goes, three stinky cobblers can stand up to one master strategist. If leaders are disunited, even three master strategists may not necessarily be the cobblers' match. Therefore, unity has a decisive effect on raising the combat capability of the leadership. And if party and government are at one, this too will have a decisive effect on the leadership's unity. For party and government to be at one, a leader must know his place within the entire leadership. When the party secretary votes, he can cast only one vote. Since comrades come from all corners of the land to work together, everybody must have the integrity to consider the general interests and take the overall point of view. They must respect, trust, and understand one another and do their work with the hope of achieving unity. They should strive for the great harmony while allowing minor differences and conscientiously protect unity. A team leader, in particular, should not "deal with people in a high-handed way." Nor should he presume to "lay down the law." Within the ranks of leadership, intra-party democracy must be stressed. Organizational activities must be well organized, including active meetings, which must be held at least a couple of times each semester. There must be criticism and self-criticism. People within the leadership must not play favoritism or curry favor through flattery. If a person has a complaint, he should air it at a meeting, not afterwards. Everybody should not be a hindrance but a help. The party has party discipline, which must be obeyed. People who violate party discipline must be dealt with in accordance with party regulations. Comrade Hu Yaobang has made

the point that we must learn to handle two kinds of intra-party conflicts. We must follow this essential idea and build up institutional leadership into a united, harmonious fighting collective.

Sixth, cultivate the idea that we must persevere with reform and development.

Two issues face us today: one is reform, the other, development. Both are aimed at improving the quality of work. Without reform there can be no development. We must make reform better as we develop. Reform is the self-improvement and self-development of the socialist system. This year the reform principles put forward by the CPC Central Committee are "consolidate, assimilate, increase, improve." As we reform, we need to study many issues. Recently Comrade Deng Xiaoping called for the restructuring of the political system. We must relate economic reform, scientific and technical research reform, educational reform, and political reform to one another closely and plan comprehensively. Some institutions of higher education have unveiled their reform programs. In the days ahead we must focus on the reform of educational principles, course content, and teaching methods to improve the quality of teaching.

In persevering with reform, I think by and large we must come to grips with the following: 1) follow the general direction of reform unwaveringly; 2) reform must proceed from the realities of one's unit; 3) uphold practice as the litmus test of truth; and 4) through practice, leaders must re-think and refine their ideas and, in turn, use them to guide practice and advance their work to a higher level. This is the theory of knowledge.

Another important point about strengthening leadership development in higher education and improving the quality of leading cadres is to step up the training of cadres currently on the job. At present, there are 200,000 cadres at institutions of higher education nationwide, of whom 6,000 are college-level cadres, 50,000, departmental cadres, and over 100,000, cadres below the division level. Over the past few years over 7,000 college, office, and departmental cadres have been trained. After a few years' hard work, we now have the capability to turn out over 3,000 cadres a year. The gratifying thing is that many old comrades in the educational community are highly supportive of this task. We must devote more energies to it. It is hoped that all provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities, and higher educational institutions also lend support to make it a success. This will play an important role in and have profound effects on improving cadre quality and the management standards at institutions of higher education.

If only we revolve our work around these areas in the future and make leadership self-development at higher educational institutions a success, we will certainly be able to better adapt higher education to future developments, advance the leadership standard at our institutions to a new high, and enable them to contribute even more to China's socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/324

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

SEMINAR ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL EDUCATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by He Yunqing [6320 0336 3237] and Zhang Gongwu [1728 0361 2976]: "The Chinese Society of Education Holds Seminar on Ideological and Political Education"]

[Text] The Chinese Society of Education held a seminar on ideological and political education in November in Dalian City. Representatives at the seminar emphatically discussed issues concerning the characteristics of elementary and middle school students during the new period and the goals, substance, ways, and means of ideological and political education. With regard to the issue of determining the specific contents of moral education, the participants at the seminar brought up the question of whether it is necessary to consider the individual needs of students as a basis in addition to considering social needs, the psychological and physiological characteristics of elementary and middle school students, and ideological reality. One view thought it unnecessary because ideological and political education should reflect the will and needs of the ruling class. This view held that when the restricting factor of "individual needs" is considered, it is to increase the effect of education; therefore, it belongs to the issue of methodology. Another view held that it was right to conduct collectivist education in the past, but the differences in the individual characteristics, hobbies, interests, and abilities of human beings were ignored; therefore, it is necessary to consider "individual needs" as a basis for determining the contents of moral education.

The representatives contended that at present the reform of the whole ideological and political education is still in the initial stage. They thought at present efforts should be focused on the following few tasks:

1. It is necessary to show concern for and help concerned provinces and cities and schools experimenting with the reform continue to persist in and do a good job in a vigorous and step-by-step manner in the experimental reform of ideological and political courses and ideological and moral education courses, study the outline for the ideological, political, and moral education of elementary and middle school students, and gradually make the ideological, political, and moral education of the ideological, political, and moral

education of elementary and middle school students more scientific, serialized, and systemized.

2. In order to increase the overall results of elementary and middle school education, in addition to reforming the contents of education, we must also overcome the defects of stereotyped methods and unitary channels existing in the work of ideological and political education. It is necessary to improve teaching methods, change closed-door to open-door teaching, organize through multiple channels lively educational activities, and enable the various fields of education, including moral, intellectual, physical, aesthical, and craft education of elementary and middle schools to permeate and promote each other.

3. It is necessary to combine more closely the education of school, family, and society. Because of this, efforts should be made to explore and establish coordination organs formed with educational, propaganda, youth, and cultural departments to strengthen the ideological and political education of youth and juvenile so as to increase the actual results of the work of ideological and political education and do a better job in training people of both ability and political integrity for the four modernizations.

12302

CSO: 4005/314

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NO POLITICAL STABILITY INSURANCE ISSUED--The Shanghai Branch of the People's Insurance Company of China revealed on 19 December 1986 at a press conference that this company has not sold any political risk insurance since its first sale in 1980. This shows from one aspect that China's political situation is stable and that foreign investors are not worried about it. Political risk insurance is a common insurance business on the international insurance market. China began to offer this service to foreign investors in 1980. The only political risk insurance sold since then in the Shanghai area was bought in 1980 by a trading company of Hong Kong which invested in a cooperative project to build a group of houses for overseas Chinese. At that time, this trading company of Hong Kong was not sure about the political stability of the mainland which had gone through 10 years of turmoil. They applied for a 7 million-yuan insurance policy and paid a 70,000 yuan premium. After 13 months, their houses were completed and sold smoothly. The people of Hong Kong remarked that China's political situation is very stable and steady. [By reporter Gao Xiaoxiao [7559 5135 4562] [Text] [Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 86 p 1] 12302

CSO: 4005/312

## GREATER EFFORT AGAINST UNHEALTHY PRACTICES URGED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] In regard to Zhang Yongshu [1728 3057 2885], the Sanming traffic supervision office's former party branch secretary, and deputy secretary Huang Dafu [7806 1129 4395] and Sanming station chief Xu Xinrong [1776 1800 2827], who were expelled from the party and sentenced according to the law for bribery and speculation and profiteering, recently the Fujian provincial discipline inspection commission and organ party style rectification office jointly issued a circular ordering the "intensified rectification of unhealthy practices in trades and professions."

The circular points out that unhealthy practices in the trades and professions are mainly the results of some individuals utilizing power or functions for personal gain or the benefit of their units. In addition to devastating the morals and reputations of their own trades and professions, they directly disrupt the relations of the party and cadres with the masses. If not earnestly sorted out and rectified, they will destroy a group of cadres. The fact that Zhang Yongshu, Huang Dafu, and Xu Xinrong of the Sanming traffic supervision office and station followed the road of crime is a case in point.

The circular says that while the unhealthy practices cover a wide range, as long as we truly start with the leading organs and cadres and tackle the more salient issues involving more complaints from the people, the problem will not be hard to solve. In rectifying the unhealthy practices in the trades and professions, we must strictly observe the policy boundaries. Serious offenders in using power for private gain must be disciplined, and those committing economic crimes must be punished according to law. In terms of issues involving the vital interests of the vast number of workers, we must analyze the experiences, strengthen education, and reinforce the system. The progress of the Sanming traffic supervision office and station from chaos to order has been accomplished in this manner.

The circular demands that in line with the provincial committee's plans and requirements and in conjunction with their own practical conditions, party committees of all levels and party organizations of all departments and trades adopt concrete measures in the spirit of reform, intensify and unfold the campaign against unhealthy practices in the trades and professions, guard against perfunctoriness and formalism, and earnestly solve the problems.

## FORUM SUGGESTS BAN ON STEREOTYPED EXPRESSIONS

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Lu Shiyi [0712 1709 3015]: "Ban the Use of 'Common Speech'; Sidelights on the Provincial Academic Exchange Meeting on Dialectics of Nature"]

[Excerpts] A conspicuous, new thing happened at the provincial academic exchange meeting on dialectics of nature, which was held from 14 to 16 November; that is--banning the use of "common speech."

Are we not supposed to make great efforts to publicize the use of common speech? Do not take it wrong. What they want to ban here is not the kind of common speech which uses Mandarin as standard pronunciation and northern dialect as basis, conforms to rules of grammar, and is promoted and publicized by the state. Instead, it refers to vague and general opinions or those hackneyed and stereotyped articles written for occasions which contains nothing new and lack distinguishing characteristics. Comrade Wen Yuankai [3306 0337 0418] used the phrase "common speech" in his report to the meeting on 15 November. He criticized some of our leaders for routinely participating in some meetings and activities and routinely repeating some "common speeches" which contain no real substance. He also pointed out that the bad habit of delivering "common speeches" also exist in academic circles. He said: In some foreign countries where efficiency and a sense of time are very important, academic exchange meetings often set strict time limit on speeches. When some of our comrades explain and publicize their own works, they always start with a lengthy paragraph of appreciation and polite formula such as "I feel very honored and excited to be here at this meeting." Then, they will repeatedly express how "immature" and "shallow" their opinions are, that their views are "for reference only," and that they "welcome criticisms and corrections." By the time they finish being modest and courteous, they already use up a lot of their time before they even mention the main subject. He emphasized that we must enhance our sense of time and speed up the tempo of social life. These remarks aroused sympathy among comrades attending the meeting. Proposed by the chairman of the meeting and unanimously supported by all participants, a decision was made to ban the use of "common speeches" during the exchanges of opinion at the meeting. The main points of the decision are: 1) Cut off the head--namely, get rid of all expressions of appreciation and polite formula used at the beginning of a speech such as "all

leading cadres and comrades;" 2) cut off the tail--namely, do not repeat what has already been said in the conclusion of a speech and get rid of such polite formula as "welcome corrections" and so on; and 3) cut the content of a speech to a minimum, ensuring that nothing is said unless it contains something new, that nobody picks up phrases from somebody else and passes them off as his own, and that a speech is focused on its main subject and not distracted by other issues.

The requirements of the above decision were actually met during the exchange of speeches at the meeting held on the morning of 16 November. During a 2-hour period, seven comrades delivered wonderful speeches and they basically lived up to the requirement of avoiding polite formula, empty verbiage, or echoes of others' views.

Comrades attending this meeting all agreed that this lively workstyle of the meeting that eliminates formalism, dogmatism, and officialese is very worth promoting.

12302

CSO: 4005/313

**HANGZHOU REGULATIONS ON DEMONSTRATIONS, ASSEMBLIES**

Zhejiang ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Dec 86 p 1

[Provisional regulations of the Hangzhou City People's Government concerning demonstrations and assemblies; issued 28 Dec 86]

[Text] The Hangzhou City People's Government has issued provisional regulations on demonstrations and assemblies, the complete text follows:

The Provisional Regulations of the Hangzhou City People's Government  
(28 December 1986)

Article 1: In order to protect the right of citizens to participate in demonstrations and assemblies and maintain normal social and traffic order, the following regulations have been specially drawn up in accordance with the relevant stipulations of the Constitution and law and in light of the actual conditions of Hangzhou City.

Article 2: When citizens hold demonstrations and assemblies according to law, people's governments at all levels should give them protection.

Article 3: To hold a demonstration and assembly on the roads and squares of urban and rural areas of Hangzhou City, organizers must submit a written application 72 hours in advance to the city public security bureau or local county public security bureaus to explain the purpose of the demonstration and assembly, inform them of the number, date, location, starting and ending time, route, and safety measures of the demonstration and assembly, and report to them the name, occupation, and address of organizers, leaders or responsible persons.

Article 4: Public security organs should approve all applications for demonstrations and assemblies except for those which violate the stipulations of the Constitution and law or infringe upon the interests of the state, society, and collective or the legitimate freedoms and rights of other citizens. At the same time, in accordance with the need to maintain traffic and social order, public security organs may change the original time, location, and route of an application and make corresponding demands.

Demonstrations and assemblies are not allowed in the Jianqiao airport and around the Chengzhan square (Jiefang and East Huancheng roads to the north, the junction of Jiangcheng and Wangjiang roads to the south, and the two ends of Qingtai overpass to the east and west).

Article 5: Public security organs should make a decision on approving or disapproving an application for demonstration and assembly within 24 hours after it is submitted and notify organizers in a written notice.

Article 6: Demonstrations and assemblies should abide by the Constitution and law, protect state secrets, treasure public property, maintain social order, and respect social ethics.

Demonstrations and assemblies should be held at the time, location, route, and other conditions approved by public security organs. Unauthorized changes are not permitted. If changes are desired, a new application must be submitted.

The organizers, leaders, and responsible persons of a demonstration and assembly must be responsible for the behavior of participants in the demonstration and assembly and for all consequences resulting from such behavior. They should try to maintain the order and safety of the demonstration or assembly, prevent persons not connected with the demonstration from entering the rank of demonstrators and the place where the assembly is taking place, and ensure that demonstrators walk on the sides of streets and obey the direction of civil police.

Demonstrations and assemblies should not interfere with the work of party, government, and information organs and hinder other employees from executing public duties. They should not disrupt the order of society, production, work, teaching, scientific research, and the life of the masses.

Participants in demonstrations and assemblies are not allowed to paint and write along the way, put up posters, or distribute propaganda materials. They are not allowed to stop vehicles, occupy sentry boxes, block traffic, destroy means of transportation, or damage parks, lawns, or municipal facilities.

Article 7: Public security organs should take the responsibility of maintaining traffic and social order for those demonstrations and assemblies which have been approved and held according to the regulations. As for those demonstrations and assemblies which violate these regulations, they should dissuade and stop them. If they do not listen, public security organs have the right to instruct them to halt the demonstration and assembly or dismiss the crowd, or take other necessary measures. The organizers, leaders, responsible persons, and participants of such a demonstration and assembly must obey without condition.

Article 8: With regard to the organizers, leaders, and directly responsible persons of such a demonstration and assembly, public security organs may, according to the seriousness of their case, summon them for questioning, instruct them to pay for the losses, give them security-related punishments, or even turn them over to judicial departments to determine their criminal responsibility.

Article 9: The city public security bureau will take the responsibility of interpreting these regulations.

Article 10: These regulations will be effective upon the date they are published.

12302

CSO: 4005/314

**HANGZHOU OFFICIALS RECEIVE FEWER INVITATIONS**

OW281258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1232 GMT 28 Jan 87

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jan (XINHUA)--The flood of invitations has receded in Hangzhou, capital of east China's Zhejiang Province, and officials now have more time to attend to their public duties.

During the first 15 days of this year, nine party and government leaders of the city received only 15 invitations. In just a 2 week period in October last year three top officials were asked to attend 43 ceremonies, a city official told XINHUA.

The number of invitations used to get so out of hand they became a headache for many officials who had no time to do their work and attend official functions as well.

The officials were invited to attend unimportant ceremonies to mark the completion of projects, sod turnings, university anniversaries, and various meetings, the official said.

"It's a waste of time and money," he said.

So the city government issued a circular and put an end to this trend.

/9599  
CSO: 4000/72

## JIANGXI FORUM ON RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by reporter Huang Gan [7806 2413]: "Stress Practical Results, Ensure Quality, and Fight Well the Last Battle of Party Rectification; The Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee Held a Provincial Forum on Village-level Party Rectification"]

[Text] The party branches of 928 villages in Jiangxi Province completed party rectification in all pilot units in early September, and village-level party rectification has been carried out in an all-around way throughout the province. The provincial CPC committee held a provincial forum on village-level party rectification in Fuzhou City from 11 to 14 September, urging all localities to gradually carry out village-level party rectification throughout the province on the basis of conscientiously summing up experiences gained in pilot units, to strengthen concrete guidance, stress practical results, ensure high standards and quality in village-level party rectification, and fulfill the task of party rectification in an all-around way.

Attending the forum were responsible comrades of party rectification offices of provincial, prefectural, and city CPC committees; responsible comrades of party committees of counties which had done a better job in the party rectification of pilot units; and secretaries of township and town party committees. Also attending were comrades of the inspection group of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission Office who were in Jiangxi Province. Xu Qin [6079 0530], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, spoke at the forum.

Participants at the forum conscientiously reviewed the implementation of the guidelines of the provincial forum of the secretaries of prefectural and city party committees on party rectification, which was held in June 1986, summed up and exchanged experiences gained in the village-level party rectification of pilot units, further studied questions concerning full-scale party rectification at village level. Comrades attending the forum held that through the party rectification of pilot units, party members in rural areas have in general received profound education in party spirit and enhanced ideological and political awareness; their sense of responsibility and honor and their role as vanguards and models have been enhanced; the fighting capacity of village party branches have been increased extensively; and the

ideological work style and mental attitude of party members and cadres have also been changed substantially. Work in pilot units has provided useful experiences of guiding significance for village-level party rectification.

In his speech, Comrade Xu Qin emphasized the question of how to stress practical results, guarantee quality, and avoid going through the motion in village-level party rectification. He pointed out that rural party rectification is a new starting point for the construction of rural grassroots party organizations in the new period. Party committees at all levels, especially county and township party committees, must stress the quality of village-level party rectification in regard to guiding ideology, seek practical results in light of reality, and guarantee that the task of party rectification will be fulfilled with high quality and high standards. He said that doing a good job in village-level party rectification is an important phase of fulfilling the task of party rectification in an all-around way. The task of village-level party rectification is extremely arduous, involving a large amount and a wide range of work; the situation is complicated; the cultural and educational levels of party members are very low; the schedule is tight; and many problems need to be solved immediately. Therefore, leaders at all levels must attach great importance to and highly concentrate their energies on this task. It is necessary to fully understand that rural party rectification is an important step in consolidating the work of rural grassroots party organizations. The first priority of rural party rectification is to build a strong and powerful body of village party branches. Through village-level party rectification, it is necessary to educate rural party members and cadres in the party's line, principles, policies, spirit, work style, and disciplines as well as socialist legal system and establish and perfect a strong and powerful leading body that suits the new situation of the development of rural commodity economy so as to ensure and accelerate the sound development of all socialist undertakings in rural areas. It is necessary to fully understand the great function of party rectification in accelerating the development of rural commodity economy, channel, through party rectification, the enthusiasm of the broad masses of party members to the development of a commodity economy and enable them to play an exemplary role in leading the broad masses of people on the road to common prosperity and serve as a leader in the development of a rural commodity economy.

Xu Qin pointed out that to guarantee that party rectification will be completed with high quality and high standards without just going through the motions, we must concentrate on major issues and emphasize the practical results of party rectification. In village-level party rectification which should be based on ideological education and focus on the problems of rural party members and cadres seriously abusing power to seek personal gains and engaging in serious violations of law and discipline, we should have a good grip of the key link--the construction of party branches--and carry out conscientious rectification of village-level party organizations in regard to ideology, work style, discipline, and organization, thereby achieving the purpose of accelerating rural reform and economic development. He said that after party rectification village-level party organizations should achieve visible practical results in four areas: 1) Party members' education should achieve practical results. The political quality of rural party members

should be markedly improved, their understanding of party spirit and awareness of serving the people markedly enhanced, their role as vanguard and model in the material and ideological progress of rural areas played better, and a group of advanced models for implementing the party's rural economic policies, developing economic production, and achieving prosperity through hard work fostered among party members. 2) The problem of village-level party organizations, party members, and cadres seriously abusing power to seek personal gain and engaging in serious violations of law and discipline should be solved conscientiously. 3) The construction of village party branches should be further strengthened, the problem of "dissonance, discord, and ineffectiveness" in leading bodies solved properly, the inner-party democratic life system further perfected, the organizing and commanding ability and service efficiency of party branches further strengthened, and the role of party branches as strongholds really played. 4) The reform and commodity economy of rural areas should be accelerated to make further development.

Xu Qin pointed out that having a good grasp of the party's policies is an important guarantee for achieving practical results in village-level party rectification. He set forth demands on some issues of party rectifications with emphasis on such issues as sorting out rural financial problems, handling economic compensation, dealing with problems left over from the "cultural revolution," and avoiding increasing peasants' burdens.

Xu Qin said that giving full play to the role of propaganda workers is the key to doing a good job in village-level party rectification. All localities should select and put together a high-quality propaganda contingent. First, they should pay attention to the quality of propaganda workers and choose comrades, who have a certain cultural level, a definite understanding of policies, and the ability to explain and publicize, are familiar with rural work, and have ties with the masses, to work as propaganda workers. Second, they should conscientiously train propaganda workers to raise their political quality and ability to explain and publicize. Third, they should handle well the relationship between propaganda workers and village party branches. The main task of propaganda workers is to find out how things are going, have a good grasp of party policies, exercise supervision and inspection, do propaganda, give guidance, and help, but not replace, village party branches in solving the problems of party rectification. Fourth, they should set strict demands on propaganda workers. Propaganda workers should play a leading role in correcting the party's workstyle, serve as an adviser in rural reform and economic work, and genuinely take up the responsibility of helping village party branches do a good job in party rectification.

Xu Qin emphasized the need to strengthen concrete guidance for village-level party rectification. He urged all prefectural and city committees to strengthen supervision and inspection over village-level party rectification and sum up and publicize good experiences and methods. Party committees at the two levels of county and township should take full responsibility, carry out constant study, and give concrete guidance. County party committees should guarantee that first they will not go out unless they are prepared and second they will not withdraw unless they solve the problem. Township and town party committees should exercise face-to-face leadership in village-level party rectification and ensure that they have concentrated energies and time and

become closely involved in reality in uncovering and solving problems. All levels should strengthen investigation and research, do a good job in typical cases and promote work in all areas by drawing upon experience gained at key points. Secretaries of county and township party committees should get personally involved in a key point, analyze it as a typical case, and sum up experience gained in such a case to win initiative in leadership work.

12302  
CSO: 4005/312

## MEASURES TO IMPROVE JIANGXI'S DISCIPLINE INSPECTION

Nanchang JIANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 86 pp 1,3

[Excerpts] The Third Plenum of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee was held from 11 to 15 November in Nanchang. A total of 39 members of the discipline inspection commission of the provincial CPC committee attended the plenum. The heads of discipline inspection groups (secretaries of discipline inspection commissions) of organs and units under the direct control of the province attended the plenum as non-voting delegates.

On the afternoon of 17 November, Liu Liying [0491 7787 5391], standing committee member of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and responsible person of the inspection group dispatched to Shanxi by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission to correct party workstyle; Wan Shaofen [8001 4801 5358], secretary of the provincial CPC committee; and Liu Fangren [0491 2455 0088], deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, attended and spoke at the plenum.

Comrade Liu Liying aired her views on the question of how to improve discipline inspection work under the new situation of reform and opening up. She said: First, we should use the viewpoint of dialectical materialism to correctly understand and apprehend the relationship between correcting party workstyle and doing a good job in reform. We should emphasize the fact that correcting party workstyle and promoting ideological and cultural progress can accelerate and guarantee reform and that reform cannot be successful unless party workstyle is corrected. Reform has laid a solid material foundation for ideological and cultural progress. Besides, reform itself is a motive force for ideological and cultural progress. Only by fully understanding the important role of reform in ideological and cultural progress can cadres in charge of discipline inspection take the initiative in protecting reform, serving reform, and adapting to the current new situation of the four modernizations.

Second, discipline inspection departments should regard supporting and protecting reform as a routine task. On the one hand they should investigate and handle major and important cases to clear the way for reform and the open-door policy and create a favorable social environment; on the other hand they should wholeheartedly support and help reform. They should give great

publicity to those advanced enterprises which are marching at the forefront of reform and those advanced people who have made major contributions in reform. They should help these advanced enterprises and people solve problems whenever they have problems at work; help them sum up lessons in a well-meaning manner whenever they made a mistake in work or concerning work style; and stand out to help them clarify right and wrong and punish whoever framed them whenever they are under criticism, attack, or slander. Cadres of discipline inspection commissions should often go down to enterprises to carry out investigation and research and understand various contradictions in reform, thereby reducing ideological differences between comrades in charge of discipline inspection and economic work. They should keep abreast of the trend of developments in reform, solve problems cropped up in reform, strengthen ties with economic and information departments, and ensure that the work of discipline inspection departments voluntarily protects and promotes the smooth progress of reform.

Third, when we investigate and handle problems in reform, we must adopt a cautious attitude and ensure as a precondition that a method or a measure is conducive to developing production and protecting reform before adopting it. When discipline inspection departments handle cases and understand situations, their case materials often come first from letters of complaint. We should be very careful in handling letters of complaint. When we receive a letter of complaint, signed or anonymous, we should analyze the degree of its credibility; ignoring it is wrong. With regard to those letters which reflect general issues concerning work style, we may talk to those who are subjects of complaints verify facts with them in person, and help them correct whatever needs to be corrected. As for those letters which are based on facts and involve relatively important issues, we may first carry out some small-scale individual investigations to get hold of some preliminary information; then, if we think it necessary, we may send out investigation groups to carry out investigation.

Fourth, we must severely handle those major cases which, in the name of reform, seek loopholes of reform to undermine reform. Some people, in the name of reform, go all out to abuse power to seek private gain, line their own pockets, undermine the foundation of the state, sabotage reform, and cause serious losses to the state and enterprises. With regard to such cases, we should remove all obstacles to carry out serious investigation. This is an unshirkable duty for discipline inspection commissions at all levels. Failing to investigate and handle such cases is tantamount to the negligence of duty; failing to investigate and handle such cases carefully or leaving them unsettled is also considered the negligence of duty.

Comrade Liu Liying also talked about her experience in handling major and important cases in light of the 7-month practice by the inspection group of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission in Jiangxi Province. She called on discipline inspection cadres and party members, especially the party's leading cadres, to test themselves with "six enticements." 1) Correctly handle and use the powers endowed to them by the party and the people to pass the test of power; 2) correctly handle money and goods and stay away from ill-gotten wealth to pass the test of money; 3) carefully guard against the surprise attack of "sex bullets" to pass the test of women; 4) correctly handle the relationship between individuals and organizations and between

individuals and the masses and increase the awareness of being a good public servant to pass the test of supervision; 5) guard against those people who suck up to others, be honest and upright, work hard, and lead a plain life to pass the test of honesty; and 6) adhere to the "four requirements" of cadres, treat everybody equally regardless of where he comes from, appoint people on the basis of their merits, and oppose forming small groups, factions and cliques to pass the test of employment. Only by so doing can they uphold the principle of wholeheartedly serving the people, maintain an upright, uncorrupted, impartial, and honorable moral character, and win the support and endorsement of the people.

12302

CSO: 4005/312

## COMMENTARY ON FALSE ACCUSATIONS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Make No False Accusations"]

[Excerpts] It has been more than a decade since the end of the "Cultural Revolution" and some young people do not even know what it was, yet its virus still remains among some people. In some areas and units, its "factionalism" has not vanished and its ghost refuses to leave. The moment an opportunity arises, there are always those who will launch "Cultural Revolution" attacks, in order to achieve their despicable personal goals. This point deserves our great vigilance.

All false accusations in phony letters indicate a sinister psychology and ulterior motives. Rather than having one-sided understanding, the letter writers are low in moral character. In broad daylight, they fabricate facts, invent charges, write phony letters either anonymously or over a signature, assemble false information, make false accusations against good comrades, and cannot be satisfied short of destroying them. While demonstrating little ability in their work, they are insanely addicted to such activities to the extent of mixing the spurious with the genuine and painting a vivid and lively picture. "A matter of 8 cents leads to a 6-month investigation," and "16 cents make life unbearable." Unfortunately, some people competent in our endeavors are often weak in self-defense. Scorning precautions against hidden arrows, nor having the time to do so, they become easy targets of false accusers. What is even more unfortunate is that some leaders are muddled in their thinking and have no keen sense of smell. The moment they receive a letter with a false accusation, they readily believe the slanderous words, whether right or wrong, and often place the victim under suspension, attaching "tails" one by one. Even if not ousted, the victim is discredited and disgraced. Truly it is the situation where the leader wavers between believing and suspecting, the false accuser is secretly pleased, the troublemaker creates a sensation, and the accused suffers endless pain.

Making false accusations is a sort of social pollution and a brazen sabotage of the socialist spiritual civilization. It infringes on the rights of citizens, damages democracy and the legal system, tears asunder the unity of the revolutionary ranks, and disrupts the work of state organs.

Do we not advocate that "the speaker is not to blame"? Yes. Comments beneficial to the state and the people are not only "blameless" but meritorious. It is a principle which has always been upheld. Rumors, slanders, insults, and vilifications are simply infringements on the dignity of one's character and the interests of the state and the people. They are criminal acts and should be punished according to law.

Do we not advocate "protection of the whistle blower"? Yes. Out of a sense of proprietary responsibility, whistle blowers exposing bad people and evil deeds must be protected, but it does not mean that false accusers can be tolerated. Creating something out of nothing and fabricating false accusations actually interfere with normal exposures. Therefore, to protect legitimate accusations, we must punish the false ones and allow no passing off of the sham as the genuine.

As proved by the facts, the large number of letters from the people help the leading organs understand the conditions when formulating policies and serve as important channels to bring closer the relations of the party and cadres with the masses. Among the major and important cases investigated and prosecuted in various areas in recent years, some of them have been the results of clues and conditions provided by letters from the people. Therefore, any bureaucratic practice of suppressing the people's letters and discouraging their criticisms and any act of retaliation are incorrect and likewise intolerable to party discipline and the state's law.

6080/12859  
CSO: 4005/158

**JIANGSU VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION PROGRESS**

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Shen Liansan [3088 5114 0005]: "Jiangsu's Village-level Party Rectification Is in Full Swing"]

[Excerpts] Over 29,000 village party branches and over 895,000 party members in rural Jiangsu have participated in village-level party rectification which has been full swing since early and mid-November and is now focusing on systematic education.

Party committees at all levels have made relatively full preparation for village-level party rectification. Leading bodies of over 22,000 village party branches province-wide have been readjusted and consolidated and rural financial affairs have also been put in order. In many places where a relatively good job has been done, over 70 percent of the long-term debt that party members owed to collectives has been repaid and cases where a few party members and cadres abused power to seek personal gains, engaged in serious violations of law and discipline and divorced themselves from the masses are now being handled with redoubled efforts. Many towns and townships have trained some backbone forces for the work of party rectification and given full play to their role in village-level party rectification.

In order to do a good job in village-level party rectification, party committees at all levels have strengthened concrete leadership. All localities have also strengthened and consolidated functional organs for rural party rectification. A total of over 37,000 cadres, averaging 1.3 person per village, have been selected across the province to work as liaison officers for village-level party rectification.

Since village-level party rectification was carried out comprehensively, all localities have paid attention to improving party members' ideological and political quality and adopted, according to the reality and characteristics of rural party members, various forms to carry out, at different levels and in view of specific issues, education in the purpose and significance of party rectification, ideals and principles, current situations and policies, party workstyle and discipline, and the requirements of qualified party members. They realistically discussed as they studied and corrected as they inspected.

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## URGENCY OF IMPROVING PARTY STYLE DISCUSSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Shen Yun [3088 5089]: "Forum on Party Style Rectification and Rural Party Consolidation Stresses Improvement of Party Style and Sound Development of Reform"]

[Excerpts] Earnestly implementing the essence of the forum on party style rectification held by the party Central Committee for the responsible comrades of the various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government and persevering in the work were the main tasks of the forum held by the Jiangsu provincial party committee and concluded at the end of last month on party style rectification and rural party consolidation.

Attending the meeting were various deputy municipal secretaries in charge of party consolidation, responsible comrades of the provincial and municipal discipline inspection commissions and party consolidation offices, and some responsible comrades of the county party committees.

Responsible comrades of the Central Party Consolidation Guidance Committee's investigation group also attended.

Comrade Xing Bai [6717 4101] chaired the meeting, and Comrade Shen Daren [3088 6671 0086] made a statement.

The meeting found that the work of party style rectification has made obvious results, but that in order to develop the present excellent situation, it must be further intensified in a down-to-earth manner. It emphatically pointed out: We must study earnestly the "Resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee and implement its essence in party style improvement. Today, we must focus on the solution of problems in the following areas: 1) We must earnestly study the "Resolution" and the central leaders' instructions pertaining to party style rectification and further unify understanding. The various areas must correctly analyze the work of their own localities, departments, and units since the beginning of the year, recognizing both the achievements and the shortcomings. They must fully understand and correctly realize the protracted nature and urgency of party style improvements and never slacken their present effort because of the protracted nature nor grow impatient because of the urgency. They must dialectically

understand the relations of party style rectification with reform and with unhealthy practices and law violations. 2) The various areas, departments, and units must start from reality and earnestly solve the main problems in party style. In regard to the salient problems reported by the people, they must solve them one after another and concretely perform the work of party style rectification. The reason that some departments and units have a large number of long-standing problems in party style is in the leadership. The various areas must make earnest analyses and, in terms of leading groups remaining unchanged in spite of repeated assistance rendered by the organization, must resolutely proceed with necessary readjustments. 3) They must pay attention to ideological education and further strengthen inner-party political life. In rectifying party style, we must treat both the symptoms and the cause and start with the improvement of the quality of party members. Meanwhile, to improve the quality of party members, education is basic. In handling major and important cases, correcting unhealthy practices in the trades and professions, and rectifying discipline and work style of party and government organs, special attention must be given to ideological education. In the future, the democratic-life meetings of leading cadres of the various levels must be made into a system and held according to a schedule, and attention must be given to the continuous improvement of the ideological, political, and principled nature of inner-party life. 4) They must investigate, analyze, and render guidance according to different groups. They must publicize the comparatively successful units in party style rectification and assist them in making an unremitting effort in party style improvement of a regular nature. Except individual units requiring the reorganization of leading groups, they must properly perform the work of education on the backward units, render help and personal guidance, analyze the causes, formulate measures, and strive for a transformation as soon as possible.

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CSO: 4005/158

## REASONS FOR UNCRITICAL PRESS GIVEN

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Er Ya [1422 7161]: "It Is Necessary To Normalize Newspaper Criticism"]

[Excerpt] Over the years a major readers' complaint about this paper is that it seldom publishes critical articles. Many comrades with this paper are willing to change this situation, but every time they have tried, they encountered many difficulties. First, it is hard to carry out investigation. When they try to find somebody to verify the facts, he or she either avoids them or evades the issue in an effort to cover up, making things very difficult for them. Second, it is hard to cope with those who are being criticized. After an article is published, the one who is being criticized often tries to find "loopholes" by reading and examining the article word by word and sentence by sentence. Although basic facts are irrefutable, as long as he or she finds a slight difference in minor details, he or she will grab it and refuse to let go, or even confront the author to verify the error and keep pestering the author. As a result, the one who criticizes unhealthy tendencies ends up having to write a self criticism while the one engaging in unhealthy tendencies look as if he has been right all along. Third, it is hard to see results. The one who is being criticized feels upset and hostile, therefore, it is only natural that the criticism would fail to achieve its original purpose and that the one who is being criticized would ignore the article and continue to do things his own way. These abnormal phenomena have caused many editors and reporters to be afraid to prepare critical articles.

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## YANG XINGFU DISCUSSES SHANDONG VILLAGE-LEVEL RECTIFICATION

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Dec 86 p 2

[Interview with Yang Xingfu [2799 5281 1381], standing committee member of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee and responsible person of the Party Rectification Office of the provincial CPC committee, by staff reporters: "Basic Requirements and Issues of Attention in the Inspection of Village-level Party Rectification in Shandong Province"; date and location not given]

[Text] Question: Would you please tell us how things are going with village-level party rectification in Shandong Province and what you think about the previous stage of party rectification?

Answer: Village-level party rectification has been carried out in Shandong Province for over a month since mid-October. At present, the overwhelming majority of units are at the end of the study period and a few units, which had an early start in party rectification, have already entered the inspection period, namely the critical period. In the previous stage of party rectification, party committees at all levels have adopted a clear guiding ideology and paid great attention to the work; party members have been mobilized extensively and their study results have been fairly good; and initial results have been achieved in carrying out party rectification along with reforms and a new atmosphere has been brought about in the development of a commodity economy, the winter construction of farmland irrigation facilities, and ideological and cultural progress. In sum, everything is going very well. We had a good beginning.

Question: Why do you call the inspection period the critical period?

Answer: The inspection period is not only for the intensification and development of party rectification study but also for the examination of the results of party rectification study. Because, inspection requires grassroots party organizations and party members to conscientiously and thoroughly examine existing problems, analyze their causes, sum up lessons, and study and formulate measures for creating new work prospects. A good job in this period plays a decisive role in guaranteeing that party rectification will not be carried out perfunctorily and that the purpose of party rectification will be attained.

Question: Would you please talk about the basic requirements of work in this period?

Answer: There are mainly three basic requirements:

1. Clarify the purpose of inspection which is to play up strong points, play down shortcomings, encourage healthy tendencies, eliminate malpractices and unhealthy tendencies, develop enterprising and innovative spirits, overcome conventional and lethargic thinking, inject more vitality and energy into party organizations, further improve party workstyle, and enable the broad masses of party members to work more vigorously for the general tasks and goals of the party.
2. Make the leading bodies of party branches the focus of inspection. Party branches are the strongholds of the party in rural areas. Only by doing a good job in the inspection of the leading bodies of party branches can we enhance the fighting forces of party organizations, better implement the party's line, principles, and policies, and lead the masses on the road to common prosperity.
3. Focus inspection on the prominent issues of each unit. Every unit should conscientiously carry out inspection focusing on the issues of greater complaints among the masses inside and outside the party in regard to ideology, organization, and workstyle. Special efforts should be made to inspect and correct such problems as party members and cadres abusing power to seek personal gains and engage in serious violations of law and discipline; conservative thinking, outdated points of view, the sluggish development of the commodity economy, and the negligence of ideological and cultural progress; a lack of energy and vitality on the part of leading bodies, a lack of democratic atmosphere inside the party, imperfect systems, and the poor exercise of the functions of models, vanguards, and strongholds; a poor understanding of the principle of serving the people and insufficient service to the masses, etc. Each unit should set priorities according to its actual conditions and solve whatever problem there is.

Question: To what shall we pay attention to in the concrete practice and leadership of inspection?

Answer: Before we start inspections, we should do a good job in preparation. On the basis of summing up party consolidation study and doing a good job in ideological mobilization for inspection, we should first accurately locate the main issues of inspection. Party branches should fully follow the masses' line, hold various kinds of symposiums, listen carefully to the opinions of the masses inside and outside the party, and encourage extensive heart-to-heart talks. Then, leading members of party branches should sit down, sort things out, carry out conscientious discussions and studies, make a list of issues to be resolved, submit it to township and town party committees for examination and approval, and then carry out inspection according to the list.

With regard to the issue of leadership, first the township and town party committee should exercise strict quality control over units which are about to start the inspection. Those which fail to meet the requirements of the study

period should not be allowed to start the inspection. Time should be subordinate to quality. Second, township and town party committees should have a pretty good idea of the main problems that exist in the party branches under their control and turn down those units which fail to make a list conscientiously and locate their problems accurately. Third, with regard to those leading bodies and grassroots cadres who have more problems, township and town party committees and party consolidation liaison officers should provide intensified assistance and strive to find solutions to their problems. Members of party branches usually gather in township or town offices for 5 to 7 days and return to their villages to inspect party members after they accurately locate the problems.

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CSO: 4005/311

## SHANDONG RURAL PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 87 p 4

[Text] After the publication of the "Resolution of the CPC on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology," the study and implementation of this document were treated by the Zhucheng County Party Committee in Shandong as an important feature of party rectification at the village level. These efforts have had a good effect on enriching the substance and enhancing the significance of the party rectification.

In order that party members, with the limited time available during the party rectification, could study the "Resolution" fruitfully and be educated in party spirit intensively, the county party committee analyzed the contents of the "Resolution" and the education program carefully and then set them in a proper order to be studied by the party members. This arrangement helped the party members to study each subject thoroughly and to comprehend the spirit of the document.

The age gaps among party members in the countryside are wide, their cultural level low, and their comprehension poor. For these reasons, the county party committee has devised a practical way of study with four special characteristics: First, party classes were held under centralized guidance. The members of various township and town party committees first studied and deliberated the documents among themselves, and then gave lectures on the "Resolutions" in light of realities. Second, after preparing the guidance materials, the party organizations at various levels compiled a list of subjects to be studied, discussed, and gradually digested by the party members. At the same time, the party members examined their own ideology according to the requirements of the documents and corrected their mistakes in the light of realities. Wanjiazhuang Township Party Committee organized the young, the middle-aged, and the old party members to conduct separate discussions on these questions: "What have I done for spiritual civilization?" and "What will be my legacy for my offspring?" As a result of these discussions, the party members have consciously done more than 300 good deeds for the broad masses. Third, attention was paid to the exemplary role of the advanced elements. The county party committee selected six outstanding party members and publicized to the whole county what they had done. Other townships and towns also separately organized some advanced units and

individuals to talk about their own experiences, or arranged for party members to visit some civilized villages so that everyone could receive their education from real life. Fourth, all units combined the study of the "Resolution" with various colorful cultural activities, and organized the party members to watch movies and TV shows which reflect the relationships between the cadres and the people, between neighbors, and between family members; and the videorecordings of the heroic deeds of the commanders and fighters in the battlefield of Laoshan. These units also introduced some wholesome and useful activities in the libraries, reading rooms, activity rooms, entertainment rooms, the homes of young militiamen, and night schools. This entertainment has a strong appeal for party members in their education and tempering.

In organizing the study of the "Resolution," Zhucheng County has never given any ostentatious performance at any level. Instead of showing any authoritative style or forcing people to learn by rote, they allowed the party members to study comprehensively, read selectively, temper themselves, and exercise their minds in order to ascertain the basic viewpoints. The party members' way of thinking has been improved to some extent through the study.

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CSO: 4005/294

## LEADING BODIES OF SHANGHAI UNIVERSITIES READJUSTED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Xu Ying [1776 4481]: "A Group of New Cadres Possessing both Ability and Integrity Assumes Leadership Posts and Invigorates the Schools"]

[Text] In readjusting and strengthening the leading bodies of institutions of higher learning, the Shanghai municipal education and public health work CPC committee has done away with old concepts, set new standards for qualified people, and promoted cadres who have both ability and political integrity to leading posts with good results.

There are 50 institutions of higher learning in Shanghai, of which 31 (including 8 key universities) are directly under the leadership of the Shanghai education and public health work CPC committee. The readjusted leading bodies of these schools are composed of cadres who are obviously more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally competent. The average age of the leading cadres is 53; 92 percent of them have a college or higher education level, and more than one-third of them are professors and associate professors.

What kind of people should be chosen as leaders of universities in the new situation? In readjusting the leading bodies, the Shanghai education and public health work CPC committee has paid attention to conceptual changes in four areas.

1. Cadre selection should not be "mysterious"; it should be based on "democratic recommendations." When a leading body is to be readjusted, the number of persons the leading body should have and the number of vacancies to be filled are first made public. Recommendations are then made by the school's cadres. The masses' opinions are solicited. The new leading cadres thus selected are checked by the organization department, examined and decided on by the party committee, and reported to higher authorities for approval. Leading members of a school's party committee are elected democratically by delegates to the school party congress based on opinions of the membership expressed through the party congress.

1. "Seniority" should not be given top priority in cadre selection; it is necessary to "select new people without sticking to any set pattern."

Outstanding young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading positions in some institutions of higher learning in Shanghai. For example, in such key schools as Fudan University and Huadong Normal University, each with an enrollment of more than 10,000 not even 1deputy party committee secretary is in his thirties or early forties, but several medium-size universities and colleges like the Finance and Economics College have promoted outstanding cadres in their late thirties and early forties to party committee secretaries. Full of vigor, active in thinking, and bold in carrying out reforms, these cadres have brought new vitality to the schools since assuming their new offices.

3. It is necessary to demand "competence" rather than "perfection." In the past, when cadres were to be selected or promoted, the tendency was to look for people who were "perfect" rather than "competent," "good" rather than "strong," and "stabilizers" rather than "pathbreakers." The Shanghai education and public health work CPC committee understands that the emphasis of the party's work is on achieving the four modernizations, that the reform is a second revolution, and that in selecting leading cadres to meet the needs of the new situation, it is necessary to choose people who have both ability and political integrity and who are reformist and innovative in thinking and spirit. In dealing with cadres who hold different views, the important thing to look at is the main aspect of their character and performance as a whole. The new president of a college is an accomplished scholar with a keen mind, reformist spirit, and management ability, but he is also impatient and tends to oversimplify things. Since he was promoted to the leading position, he has lived up to people's expectations and has made improvements in work at the school. He has also made constant efforts to overcome his own shortcomings in actual work and has won popular support.

4. It is better to keep doors "open" than "closed." Some key universities in Shanghai have many talented people in their faculties, while some local and newly established schools are short of leading cadres. Attention has been paid to the organized interflow of leading cadres among schools to make up the deficiency of some from the surplus of others. In the past few years, Fudan, Jiaotong, and Tongji universities have provided 24 leading cadres to other institutions of higher learning. Cadres of some key universities transferred to local universities have brought with them experience in educational reform and strengthened lateral relations among the schools.

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CSO: 4005/186

**SHANGHAI OFFICIAL DISCUSSES OBSTACLES TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM**

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Ziqiang [1728 5261 1730]: "Educational Reform Should Strive To Eliminate the Influence of Feudal Ideology; Pan Hongxuan Thinks an Ossified and Isolated Educational model, the Tendency of Regarding Officials as Superior to Scholars, and Such Feudal Ideology as "a Good Scholar Will Make an Official" Still Play a Role in the Sphere of Education, Hampering the Development of Educational Undertaking"]

[Text] Pan Hongxuan [3382 3163 5503], secretary general of the Education and Public Health Office of the Shanghai Municipal People's Government said: People think that our education has begun to enter the era of modernization, but we must not forget that the influence of feudal ideology in the sphere of education is still very serious, that it is the obstacle to current educational reform, and that we need to strive to eliminate it.

Pan Hongxuan thinks that in the past few years, educational reform has made achievements, but many old ideas, even feudal ideology, still play a role in the sphere of education. A characteristic of the feudal economy is the natural economy of small-scale production which seeks self-sufficiency in regard to interpersonal relationship and whose expression in education is an ossified and isolated model, a large and complete or a small and complete system, and the pursuit of self-perfection. For instance, some institutions of higher education, which are interested in gaining the status of a higher level recently stirred up a fever of upgrading. Manipulated by isolated ideas, some institutions of higher education put undue emphasis on making themselves comprehensive. For instance, seven units wanted to start a course in applied physics all at the same time. They try to train all the people they need by themselves regardless of their qualifications, thus worsening the phenomenon of inbreeding. Pan Hongxuan said: This isolated model causes the schools to lose motive power within themselves and become slow in reacting to the outside, adversely affecting the overall development of education and social progress.

Pan Hongxuan thinks that another expression of feudal ideology in the sphere of education is a lack of democracy in education, the confusion of government administration with school management, and the substitution of government administration for school management. Contrary to the democratic and

scientific policy making of modernized large-scale production, a feudal society puts officials before scholars and in such a society, everything is decided by the highest official of a department in charge. The expression of this phenomenon in education is that higher administrative departments do not respect the rights of local areas and schools. No matter how many times the issue of simplifying administration and delegating power has been brought up, whenever there is a real problem, we still resort to a unified method and ask that everybody march in step. The institutions of higher education wanted to enroll more outstanding and distinguished students without examination, but higher levels turned them down; those students who completed their courses ahead of time and graduated before schedule were not recognized; and what is more, the construction plan of a teaching facility which had been discussed and determined by the principle and vice principle of an university was often negated by a few words of a clerk in a leading administrative department. Another expression of the phenomenon of regarding officials as superior to scholars is that at present, it is popular to use administrative and official titles to define the status of the institutions of higher education. For instance, universities and colleges are set to be at the level of bureaus or semibureaus and middle schools are at the level of sections or partial sections. This man-made comparison between schools and administrative and official titles has objectively lowered the independent position and function of schools, eliminated the possibility of mutual competition, and boosted the unhealthy tendency of units competing with each other for a higher level and rank. Still another expression is that over a long period of time, the main task of education and scientific research was to explain, test, and verify the speeches and directives of leaders; if someone said something slightly different, he at sometime would face visible and invisible pressures.

Pan Hongxuan also pointed out: The feudal ideology that "a good scholar will be an official" is an important reason why schools one-sidedly pursue a higher proportion of students entering schools of a higher grade. They regard students as "machines" to stuff knowledge into and make it difficult for students to relate to society or practice. Currently, only 17 percent of Shanghai's middle school students participate in labor, ranking last in the country. Since students are not trained as equal, independent individuals, students are always expected to obey teachers as far as teaching is concerned. Whenever there is a problem, we always resort to such methods as "I will beat and you will come around." As far as learning is concerned, such ideas as determining rank according to seniority and scholars scorning each other have made it difficult for young people to show their talents.

Pan Hongxuan said: We must eliminate the influence of feudal ideology and bring about a change of educational ideas.

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CSO: 4005/311

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN TIEDI DISCUSSES REFORM OF SHANGHAI'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by reporter Zhang Ziqing [1728 5261 1730]: "How To Reform Shanghai's Institutions of Higher Education Next Year; Chen Tiedi [7115 6993 6611] Said It Is Necessary To Establish the Five Concepts of Service, Competition, Opening up, Results, and Respect for Knowledge and Talents"]

[Excerpts] In 1987, Shanghai's institutions of higher education should make further efforts to establish such new concepts as competition and results, strengthen overall guidance, persist in opening up and develop ties, and carry out comprehensive reform. This idea was brought up by Chen Tiedi, standing committee member of the municipal CPC committee and secretary of the party committee of the municipal educational and public health commission, at a recent experience exchange meeting on the reform of Shanghai's institutions of higher education.

How do we progress further in the reform of Shanghai's institutions of higher education in 1987? Chen Tiedi said: In order to develop the reform in depth, we need to continue to establish five concepts: 1) Service concept--education should vigorously serve the four modernizations of Shanghai and China and Shanghai's undertakings of higher education should be developed at "a faster pace and a higher level." 2) Competition concept--to adapt to socialist commodity economy, Shanghai's institutions of higher education should stimulate competitive thinking, create competitive conditions, and train a new generation of more competitive people. 3) The concept of opening up in all directions--efforts should be made to aim at domestic and foreign advanced levels, strengthen association, and seek development through association. 4) The concept of results--education should use social results as its highest criterion. 5) The concept of respect for knowledge and talents--it is necessary to further arouse the enthusiasm of intellectuals.

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CSO: 4005/314

EAST REGION

## GRADUATE-LEVEL INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by correspondent Fu Weizhong [0265 5898 0022] and reporter Wu Debao [0702 1795 1405]: "Shanghai's Institutions of Higher Education Become Increasingly Active in Foreign Exchange Activities Including Exchanges of Students for Advanced Studies, Scholars for Teaching, and S&T Projects for Research and Sign Interscholastic Exchange Agreements With Over 150 Institutions of Higher Education in 18 Countries and Areas"]

[Text] The foreign interscholastic exchange activities of Shanghai's institutions of higher education have been carried out vigorously. It is reported that over 20 institutions of higher education in Shanghai including the Fudan and Tongji universities, the Shanghai Communications University, the Huadong normal and engineering universities, and the Second Medical University have signed interscholastic exchange agreements with over 150 institutions of higher education in 18 countries and areas including the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, Canada, England, Australia, and Holland.

An important item on the interscholastic exchange program between Shanghai's and foreign institutions of higher education is the exchange of students for advanced studies. The Fudan University has now established ties with over 80 institutions of higher education in 11 countries and areas and signed exchange agreements with 37 of them. This school has sent over 700 teachers and students abroad for advanced studies while admitting over 400 foreign teachers and students to pursue advanced studies there. Some teachers played a positive role in teaching and scientific research work after returning home from overseas studies and advanced studies. After returning home from advanced studies at the Lyons Sino-French Institute, eight middle-aged teachers of the Second Shanghai Medical University became the backbone forces of departments and offices specializing in pathology, physiology, and tissue embryology in their schools.

The interscholastic exchange program also includes exchanges of scholars for lecturing. Since 1978, the Shanghai Communications University has invited 350 American professors and experts to give lectures at the school. Under the assistance of foreign teachers, the first batch of double-major graduate students did very well in their studies and most of them stayed at the school

and worked as teachers after they graduated, thereby enhancing the teaching force.

Cooperation in scientific research between schools is also a part of the interscholastic exchange program. The research project of "cooperative and independent manufacturing unit" carried out by the Tongji University and the Bochum Ruhr University of the Federal Republic of Germany has been included in the list of Sino-German state cooperation projects. The Shanghai Mechanical Institute has conducted cooperative research with the University of Indiana on "the comparison of economic management of different countries." With the assistance of the experts of the Heidelberg University, the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute established a German literature and a language research group and opened some new courses on German history and German language teaching method. It also cooperated with the teachers of the Heidelberg University in compiling such teaching materials as "German rhetoric" and "a brief history of Germany." Many schools also exchanged books and teaching materials.

Schools attached to the Municipality of Shanghai have also become increasingly active in foreign interscholastic exchange activities. Nine of such schools have signed interscholastic exchange agreements with 32 institutes of higher education in eight countries and conducted a variety of exchange activities including sponsoring lectures, tours, and art exhibitions.

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## SHANGHAI ISSUES PUBLIC NOTICE ON MAINTAINING SOCIAL ORDER

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 86 p 2

[Notice Issued by the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau; Approved by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government; dated 22 December]

[Text] In order to protect the democratic rights and other legitimate rights and interests of citizens, develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, maintain normal order in society, production, work, education, scientific research, and the daily life of the masses, ensure a smooth progress for the reform, the open-door policy, and the four modernizations, and promote the spiritual and material progress of socialism, the following notice is specially issued according to laws, rules, and regulations including the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China," the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China," and the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Public Security Controls and Penalties":

1. All citizens of Shanghai Municipality and those who came to Shanghai enjoy the rights stipulated in both the Constitution and in laws. At the same time, they must strictly abide by the stipulations of the Constitution and laws, conscientiously carry out the duties stipulated in the Constitution and in laws, and not infringe upon the interests of the state, society and collective and the legitimate freedoms and rights of other citizens.
2. All citizens must voluntarily maintain social order and it is strictly forbidden for anybody to use any means to disrupt the order of stations, wharves, civil airports, parks, squares, movie theaters, theaters, stores, and other public places. It is strictly forbidden to get into factories, schools, and scientific research units to instigate others to make trouble and disrupt order in production, teaching, and scientific research.
3. All citizens must make vigorous efforts to maintain traffic order, abide by urban traffic rules, and follow the directions of the people's police. It is not permitted to occupy sidewalks and streets or carry out any activity that would block traffic without the permission of public security organs. Demonstrations and assemblies can be held only if organizers report to the municipal public security bureau ahead of time on the number of participants, location, time, route, and security measures of the demonstration or assembly

and get permission from them. It is strictly forbidden to stop vehicles and block traffic during a demonstration or assembly.

4. No citizen is allowed to disturb or attack organs, radio or TV stations, newspaper offices, and foreign organs stationed in Shanghai, hinder state employees from carrying out official business, instigate the masses to hurl insults and abuses at or beat cadres, people's police, and other state employees. No citizen is allowed to infringe upon the legitimate interests of the masses and spread rumors to stir up trouble and confuse and poison the masses.

5. It is strictly forbidden for anybody to use any means to make up stories to slander or insult others. It is not permitted to instigate or threaten others to defy and undermine the enforcement of state laws and decrees.

6. It is strictly forbidden for anybody to engage in the acts of beating, smashing and looting, or to sabotage state, collective and other people's property, print and distribute various propaganda materials that have counterrevolutionary or obscene contents, and engage in other hooligan activities such as street fights, picking quarrels, stirring up trouble, or insulting women.

If anyone violates the above regulations, he or she will be severely punished by public security and judicial departments in light of the case and its consequences according to such laws and regulations as the "Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China" and the "Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Public Security Controls and Penalties."

Shanghai citizens and citizens from other places are encouraged to guard against and expose various trouble-making and sabotage activities carried out by a handful of people with ulterior motives and criminals, and to maintain social order, and be a good, lawful citizen.

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CSO: 4005/311

## SHANGHAI ISSUES REGULATIONS ON DEMONSTRATIONS, ASSEMBLIES

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 86 p 2

[Provisional regulations of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau concerning assemblies and demonstrations; dated 22 Dec 86]

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau today promulgated the provisional regulations on assemblies and demonstrations. The full text follows:

In order to protect the right of citizens to participate in assemblies and demonstrations and maintain normal social and traffic order, the following regulations are specially formulated in accordance with the relevant stipulations of the "Notice of the Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau" which was approved by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government on 22 December 1986.

1. To hold an assembly or demonstration on the roads or public places of urban and rural areas of Shanghai Municipality, one must report to and register with the municipal public security bureau 72 hours ahead of time. During such a report, one must fill out the "form of application for holding an assembly and demonstration" in regard to the cause, purpose, number of participants, location, date, starting and ending time, route, and safety measures of the assembly or demonstration as well as the names and identity of organizers, leaders, and responsible persons.
2. Those who come to register the organizers, leaders, and responsible persons of the assembly or demonstration must bring with them sufficient identification documents.
3. The municipal public security will respond within 48 hours after an application is filed by approving or disapproving the number of participants, location, date, starting and ending time, and route of the assembly or demonstration. A permit will be issued if an application is approved, and necessary safety protection will be provided.

4. All assemblies and demonstrations must be held in accordance with the number of participants, location, date, starting and ending time, and route that are approved or designated by the municipal public security bureau. It is not permitted to change them without authorization.

5. The organizers, leaders, and responsible persons of assemblies and demonstrations must be responsible for the behavior of participants in the assemblies and demonstrations and the consequences resulting from such behavior. Participants in assemblies and demonstrations must strictly abide by the "rules of urban traffic" and other laws and regulations and obey the direction of civil police. They are not allowed to stop on main traffic routes, stop vehicles, block traffic, and infringe upon the interests of the state, society, and collective or the legitimate rights and interests of other citizens.

6. The organizers, leaders, and responsible persons of an assembly and demonstration must adopt measures to maintain the order and safety of the assembly site and procession, stop people not connected with the demonstration from entering the assembly site and procession, and prevent various trouble-making and sabotage activities.

7. If an assembly or a demonstration causes confusion and blocks traffic or if it violates the contents approved by its permit and fails to correct the mistake which has been pointed out by civil police, public security organs have the right to adopt administrative measures including instructing them to stop the assembly or demonstration and dismissing the crowd. The organizers, leaders, and responsible persons of such an assembly and demonstration must obey without condition.

8. With regard to the organizers, leaders, and directly responsible persons of the assembly or demonstration that violates these regulations, public security organs should, according to the seriousness of their case, summon them to questioning according to law, instruct them to pay for the losses, give them administrative penalties, or even turn them over to judicial departments to determine their criminal responsibility.

9. These regulations apply to Chinese citizens as well as foreigners in Shanghai Municipality.

10. These regulations go into effect upon the date of promulgation.

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**SHANGHAI OFFERS SEX EDUCATION TO OFFENDERS**

OW221002 Beijing XINHUA in English 0702 GMT 22 Jan 87

[Text] Shanghai, 22 Jan (XINHUA)--The Shanghai Juvenile Reformatory is probably the first institution of its kind in China to offer sex education classes to juvenile offenders.

Since 1985, the reformatory has given sex education lectures on a trial basis to boys and girls who have committed sexual offences and are soon to be released, said Zhu Jimin, headmaster of the reformatory.

Zhu is also director of the Sex Education Research Society of this leading industrial and business city of China's.

"Sex education to juvenile offenders is now a must," he said, noting that in his reformatory, 30 percent of the inmates have records of sexual offences, compared to 15 percent in the past.

"Many of these young people committed sexual offences just because they were both curious and ignorant about sex," Zhu said.

"We are telling them that sex is something natural and sexual consciousness is nothing shameful," he said. "Meanwhile, we are trying to convince them of the necessity to observe the accepted standards of sexual morality."

The reformatory's curriculum of sex education include the physiological and psychological characteristics of people during puberty, the development and adjustment of sex consciousness and sex morality, Zhu added.

"After classes, teachers have individual consultations with the participants to deal with more personal problems," Zhu said, "and some doctors come to treat who suffer from gynaecological diseases."

In conducting sex education, "it is especially important to help girls foster the sense of self-respect in handling their relations with the opposite sex," he said.

"This certainly doesn't mean to make them victorian," Zhu said. "But we do try to make them realize that there is the need for them to guard against men

who want to make physical use of them by taking advantage of their weakness, such as vanity."

"Girls account for 90 percent of our inmates who have committed sex errors," he added.

In China, sex education is now becoming popular while in the past it was virtually under taboo, Zhu said.

According to reports, sex education was first introduced in a few Beijing secondary schools in 1980, and is now taught in more than 100 high schools in the city. Shanghai is among the first Chinese cities to set up sex education research societies.

Experts and scholars from the Institute of Juvenile Studies under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Shanghai Sex Education Research Society have been invited to the reformatory to give lectures and show video tapes on physiology, psychology, sexual awareness, and morality, according to Zhu.

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**SHANGHAI CENTER CLOSED BY CULTURAL REVOLUTION REOPENS**

OW251756 Beijing XINHUA in English 1457 GMT 25 Jan 87

[Text] Shanghai, 25 Jan (XINHUA)--Some 5,000 people visited the "Great World," the earliest entertainment center in Shanghai, which re-opened today after a 20-year suspension.

Built in 1917, the "Great World" used to be a center for amusement, local operas and noted snack bars, attracting as many visitors as more than 10,000 a day.

The center was suspended during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976) and had become a storage facility and later a youth palace since.

Through a 3-month repair and renovation, the "Great World" now keeps the traditional style and replenished modern amusement facilities. It has six theaters for traditional local operas and other facilities for electronics games, laser shooting, and high-grade billiard rooms.

An official in charge of the "Great World" said that the center will add more modern amusement facilities to meet the growing demand in this open Chinese coastal city.

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**ZHEJIANG PARTY, STATE LEADERS HOLD TALKS WITH STUDENT CADRES**

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by Wang Xuexiao [3769 1331 1321] and Gao Haihao [7559 3189 3185]: "Zhejiang Party, Government Leaders Held Heart-to-Heart Talks With Student Cadres for Better Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City have separately invited student cadres from 16 institutes of higher learning for heart-to-heart talks on the current situation and the work of these institutes. The exchange of views between the leaders and the students has increased their mutual understanding.

On the afternoon of 29 December 1986, Wang Fang [3769 5364], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial CPC Committee; and Li Dexing [0632 1795 7451], standing committee member of the provincial party committee and secretary of the Hangzhou City CPC Committee, and other provincial and municipal leaders held separate discussions with the cadres of the CYL, the students' association, and the graduate students' association of Zhejiang University, Zhejiang Agricultural University, Hangzhou University, and Hangzhou Teachers Training College.

The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City told the students cadres: We understand the students' desire to accelerate the reform, and have taken protective measures for the students demonstrating in the streets some days ago. However, we do not agree with them on so-called "extensive democracy." The lesson we have learned from the 10 years' of turmoil is too painful to be forgotten.

Many student cadres frankly told the leaders what they had in mind. They said: Most of us are not in favor of the street demonstrations. Even those who participated in the demonstrations, now, on second thought, consider them improper. The student cadres held that contemporary college students are all concerned about the reform, but are not well aware of its complex and arduous nature. They are eager to join others to get something done, although their ability is not equal to the task. They dare to think, but cannot think deeply enough. The student cadres of Zhejiang University, Zhejiang Agricultural University, and Zhejiang Industrial College said: In recent years, many fellow students have conducted social surveys and actively participated in the

practice of reform and production at the basic levels, in the course of which they have demonstrated their ability and wisdom, become aware of their own value, and learned about the arduous task of upholding the four cardinal principles and carrying out the reform. These activities are also a form of practical and effective ideological work. For various reasons, however, some departments and units did not appreciate or support them. Governor Xue Ju [5641 7467], who was present, said that the provincial government would immediately issue a document calling on the party organizations and governments at all levels to pay attention and give support to the students' well-intentioned activities. Zhejiang's Provincial CYL and Provincial Students' Federation have also sent circulars to all institutes of higher learning in the province with the request to organize the students for wholesome social activities during the winter vacation, so that they may better understand the national and social conditions and contribute their capability and wisdom accordingly. It was also requested that commendations or rewards be given to the schools and individuals that have given outstanding performances.

During their discussions, the student cadres also mentioned the poor facilities for teaching and daily living in some schools. The party and government leaders of Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City candidly told them what the governments at all levels had done for education and the difficulties actually encountered. The party and government leaders of Hangzhou City pointed out that in 1986, the educational funds spent on the universities and specialized colleges in the municipality exceeded 10 million yuan (capital construction investment not included), a 34.5-percent increase over 1985. This amount showed the great effort made by Hangzhou in view of its limited local revenues. After listening to the leaders' explanation, many student cadres expressed their appreciation of the government's position and hoped that mutual understanding and confidence would be further strengthened in the future.

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## BRIEFS

PARTY'S WORKSTYLE CRITICIZED--At a forum sponsored recently by the discipline inspection commission and the united front work department of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, 23 officials and noted personages of various democratic parties in Shanghai made frank criticism and sincere suggestions on the issue of improving the party's workstyle in Shanghai. At the 2 and one-half day forum, participants spoke their minds freely and aired their views. While affirming the achievements made by Shanghai in the past few years in eliminating unhealthy tendencies and correcting the party's workstyle, the participants criticized the existing problems of Shanghai's party workstyle by citing what they had heard and seen. They said: The phenomena of lax discipline and liberalism still exist in the party; formalism, superficial workstyle, and the negligence of practical results are still fairly common; bureaucracy is relatively prominent in some leading organs; and some party members, who have a serious problem of the feudal "special privilege" mentality, use their power to seek personal gains. [By Qing Ju [1987 5282]] [Excerpts] [Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 86 p 1] 12302

CSO: 4005/312

## DENG LIQUN MAKES INSPECTION TOUR IN HUNAN

Changsha HUNAN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by staff reporter Wan Maohua [8001 5399 5478]: "Deng Liqun Expresses Views on Hunan's Two Civilizations"]

[Text] In middle and late October, Secretary Deng Liqun of the Central Secretariat, accompanied by Hunan provincial party secretary Mao Zhiyong [3029 5268 3938], inspected Yueyang, Yiyang, Changde, and Xiangxi Tujia-Miao Autumous Prefectures. Besides hearing the reports of prefectoral (autonomous prefecture), municipal, and county leaders, Comrade Deng Liqun, together with Comrade Mao Zhiyong, visited plants, villages, residential districts, stores, and the homes of workers and peasants, held cordial conversations with the cadre masses, observed and clarified conditions, and expressed many important views on building the two civilizations.

Marxism is the compass of our actions. New and old cadres must earnestly study theories in conjunction with reality, for otherwise it will be very difficult for us to shoulder the heavy responsibilities now and particularly in the future.

On 14 October, Comrade Deng Liqun arrived at the Changling oil refinery. Immediately upon sitting down in the conference room, he said: Your refinery is known throughout the country. I heard of it long ago. After making detailed inquiries on the study of theories by plant cadres, he said: Party cadres must study more profoundly than ordinary party members. New and old cadres must earnestly study Marxist-Leninist books, the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the party's important documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Short of studying theories, it will be impossible for us to pursue such a great cause, achieve the noble ideals of communism, and pass the baton on to the next generation. Marxism is the theoretical base of our cause and the compass of our actions. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party, starting from China's reality, has upheld, enriched, and developed Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. If we do not earnestly study theories, it will be very difficult for us to shoulder the heavy responsibilities now and particularly in the future. It is unjustifiable for comrades in charge of leadership work to consider the study of theories as something nonessential, or basically to ignore it.

To run a plant, we must first administer the party. Party organizations at all levels must properly pursue party building. If all party members are up to standard, it will be easy to manage China's affairs.

During his inspections in various areas, Comrade Deng Liqun mentioned time and again the Changling oil refinery comrades' proposal that, to run a plant, we must first administer the party. He felt that the idea is extremely important, applicable to all localities, branches, and units as well as plants.

When Yueyang municipal party secretary Chu Bo [0328 3134] reported that, after introducing the plant director responsibility system, some party secretaries lamented the loss of position, prestige, and employment, Comrade Deng liqun declared: Is it not true that there are very few nonparty members among plant directors? When exercising power, a plant director should keep in mind that he is a party policies. The plant director responsibility system does not mean that our party no longer controls the cadres. In inner-party life, regardless of one's level, one must act according to party practices. In the past, plant party committees busied themselves everyday with giving written instructions, covering up such trivialities as eating, drinking, defecating, and sleeping. Thus, they were unable to manage the party and its cadres or pursue party building. Talking about losing position, it was truly losing their position! Due to the loss of position, they lost prestige. After introducint the plant director responsibility system, one should say that the party committee has resumed its position. Some comrades are confused by the old practices and seem to feel that if a party committee does not give written instructions, manage money and issue orders, it is not a party committee and has no power. A party organization can only issue orders to its party members, not the masses. In the difficult years of the revolutionary war, could we have ordered the masses to serve in the Red Army or the Eighth Route Army? Representing the interests of the people and by means of persuasive education, especially the exemplary roles of party members, the party mobilized the masses and enhanced their awareness. The party must rely on correct policies and on its members' exemplary conduct to attract and lead the masses. Only then will it win their support.

When inspecting Huarong, Nanxian, Yuanjiang, Taoyuan, and Yongshun Counties Comrade deng liqun repeatedly inquired about the effectiveness of rural party members, the level of their qualifications, the number of those unable to register during party consolidation, and party member education in the various areas. He said: In terms of Chine's affairs, we must, in the final analysis, have a good party, a group of good party members, and a group of good cadres. In the early days of liberation, we had 2 million-plus members and won a national victory. Now we have over 40 million. After party consolidation, if all party members are up to standard and serve the people heart and soul, whether to quadruple output or approach the world advanced level by the middle of the next century, we will achieve our goal. The resolution on the guiding principle in building a spiritual civilization passed by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee demands that party committees at all levels devote more time and energy

on building a spiritual civilization. Among the numerous tasks in the realm of spiritual civilization, the key issue is the proper building of our party.

Young people must receive more education, at least through middle school. Workers and peasants must vigorously study culture and science.

Visiting the homes of some workers of the Changling oil refinery and peasants of Yuanjiang County, Comrade Deng Liqun was pleased to see the improvement in the standard of living and the acquisition of many high-grade furnishings. But he regretted their low educational level. On 17 October, in Yuanjiang's citrus-growing Tuanshan, he said humorously to peasant Xiao Guanglian [5135 0342 6647]: "Your house has almost the same space as mine, but I have more books than you do. Just bookshelves alone number more than 10." Hearing that Xiao only studied for 4 years but had no trouble reading books and papers, he encouraged him to do more reading, learn some scientific and cultural knowledge, broaden his outlook, and raise the citrus output. When he learned that Xia Qingyuan [1115 3237 3123] of Nanxian's Maocao Street has an income of more than 10,000 yuan and sends all his children to school, he declared with satisfaction: "You must let the children study more, at least through senior middle school." After hearing prefectoral party secretary Chen Zhangjia's [7115 1757 0857] report in Changde, he declared emphatically: You must strive to make the children of every household attend senior middle school or its equivalent vocational school. You must turn it into a common practice. If the children do not attend senior middle school, the parents will not have fulfilled their responsibilities. It must at least be achieved by the end of the century, but better if within 5 to 7 years.

In Huarong County, county secretary Hu Bianqing [5170 4882 1987] reported that the people of the county are good at farming and studying, that after the system of college entrance examinations was reinstated, over 500 students are admitted annually to institutions of higher learning, but only 100-plus graduates are assigned annually to the county, and that the county is short of personnel. Comrade Deng Liqun replied: Some measures should be adopted to attract personnel. Starting next year, institutions of higher learning will change grants-in-aid to scholarships, and students may also apply for bank loans. In terms of a county, if the students major in fields needed by it, it may consider the measure of forming contracts with them and, as long as they return to work in the county, it will be responsible for the repayment of the loan. By so doing, more graduates will return to work.

On 24 October, when autonomous prefecture secretary Yang Zhengwu [2799 2973 0582] reported the shortage of educational funds, Comrade Deng Liqun pointed out: Under this condition, the prefecture may set up experimental units and use its money first on teacher training, in order to solve the problem of the considerable portion of unqualified teachers. The next step is to solve gradually the teacher shortage.

Diverse forms should be adopted to expand horizontal links, develop our own strong points, enliven the economy, and transform poverty in to wealth as soon as possible.

Comrade Deng Liqun was extremely interested in the conditions of building a material civilization and developing a socialist commodity economy in the various areas. In Yueyang City, he inspected the Baling Bridge farmers' market and the newly built and opened Miaoqian Street. Imitating the architecture of the Song Dynasty, the street follows the pattern of a "Street within a street and a market within a market." With dozens of traveling traders from nearby provinces, cities, and counties coming to do business, it has over 210 large and small shops and a flourishing trade. Comrade Deng Liqun commented happily: This form of trading is conducive to circulation and has its special features. What we want is to create some attractions in order to enliven the economy. We cannot develop a commodity economy without merchants.

Comrade Deng Liqun paid serious attention to the horizontal links between areas and between enterprises. He declared: To develop horizontal links, we should adopt diverse forms, such as joint ventures, financial and technical aid, contracting for merchandise, sending people to cooperative units to render help, and combining political and technical support. After hearing the reports of autonomous prefecture and Yongshun County party leaders, Comrade Deng Liqun pointed out that we must fully develop our own strong points in order to expand horizontal links. Western Hunan has many good things, and we must think of ways to let others know. When others need something from you, it will be easy to expand horizontal links.

On 24 October, Comrade Deng Liqun, disregarding the drizzling autumn rain, walked to Yulong Village in Yongshun County's Gaoping Township to visit the poor households and discuss with the cadres and masses measures to transform poverty to wealth.

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## WAN LI'S HUBEI VISIT REPORTED

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Dec 86 p 1

[Article by Shen Linong [3088 4539 6593]: "Cadres as Public Servants"]

[Text] "Affluence is not the same as modernization. A modernized nation requires an advanced democratic legal system, an advanced material civilization, and an advanced spiritual civilization. Our cadres must intensify their consciousness of democratic legality, cultivate democratic legal habits, and upgrade their democratic and legal quality. They should be officials without being bureaucrats. They exercise power but must not abuse it for selfish purposes. They must fulfill their role as public servants in earnest." These words were spoken by Wan Li [8001 6849], vice premier and member of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, during an inspection trip to Shashi and Jingzhou.

From 18 through 29 November, Vice Premier Wan Li, accompanied by Governor Guo Zhenqian [6753 2182 0051], first went to Shashi to inspect a thermos plant, a waterworks in the eastern district, the Hungyuan residential area, and a local industrial products exhibition. He met with a number of cadres, workers, intellectuals, and neighborhood residents and listened to work reports by leaders of the city CPC committee. He said happily, "Shashi had a population of 80,000 shortly after liberation. Once I passed by the city by boat and saw only one street. Now I am back and it looks radically different. Today Shashi is an industrial city, with textiles and light industry. A model of comprehensive economic reform, it has garnered a strong reputation and obtained considerable achievements which would not have come about had it adhered to old rules, old thinking, or old methods. No reform, no future. You must review experience, explore boldly, and continue to push ahead."

Vice Premier Wan Li asked about the development of democracy and the legal system in Shashi at length and pointed out, "Such development is economic reform as well as political reform, is the building of a spiritual civilization as well as that of a material civilization. Owing to the influence of feudal remnants and 'leftist' ideas, many people for years had no democratic or legal habits and lacked basic training in these areas. This is incompatible with our goal of building a modernized nation. There are some countries today which are very affluent. But affluence does not equal modernization. A modernized nation requires an advanced democratic legal

system, an advanced spiritual civilization, and an advanced material civilization. Our cadres must enhance their consciousness of democracy and legality and develop democratic and legal habits. Certainly we must also improve the democratic and legal quality of the masses, step up professional and moral education in all trades and professions, and democratize political life and economic management. Social life as a whole must be democratized."

In his report, Secretary Wang Kaibing [3769 7030 3521] of the Shashi CPC Committee made the point that given his limited knowledge and abilities, a person must rely on democratic decision-making. Wan Li praised this view warmly and said, "Good. This alone qualifies you to be city CPC committee secretary. Do not think you are god; an individual can only do so much." He remarked, "In the future enterprises must implement the director responsibility system unswervingly. A factory director must have power and must prevent the monopoly of power. This requires the establishment of appropriate forms and mechanisms for democratic decision-making to improve scientific decision-making and help the director exercise power. Some factories and enterprises in Shashi have set up management committees, while cooperative ventures have established boards of directors. There may be other good formats which should be looked into. Relations between the factory director and various parties must be straightened out. Trade unions, workers' assembly, and the Communist Youth League must play their part to make their enterprise a united, fighting entity. At the same time, there must be supervision. Supervision is democracy and constitutes a form of restraint. The masses must have the courage to advise the factory director, even as far as to dismiss him should he prove incompetent. Supervision by the people's representatives, the People's Political Consultative Conference, mass organizations, democratic parties, discipline inspection agencies, and auditing agencies must be taken seriously. Our cadres are all public servants. The secretary of the city CPC committee and the mayor are the major public servants in a city. As public servants, they must of course be subordinate to supervision by the masses, serve the people wholeheartedly, and provide high-quality services. Their service attitude must be good."

Comrade Wan Li emphasized that democracy be institutionalized and given statutory form so that it will not change as leadership changes and will not be disrupted as a result of interference. He proposed that Shashi be a forerunner in this regard: The municipal people's congress may draw up laws and regulations to be promulgated and executed by the city government. For instance, the leasing system, stockholding, and contracting system adopted by some enterprises, certain labor hiring and distribution practices, and some of the economic rights and interests of enterprises and workers can all be institutionalized and written into law in order to protect the people's democratic rights, safeguard the achievements of reform, and ensure a civilized sanitary urban environment and law and order. He approved of Shashi's emphasis on scientific development and investments in education and its efforts to strengthen the construction of cultural facilities, provide social labor insurance, and improve the masses' technical, educational, ideological, and moral qualities. He believed that Shashi has a solid basis all-around and enjoys guidance and support from the provincial CPC committee

and provincial government. He hoped that Shashi will explore boldly in accordance with the demands of the two civilizations and three "advances" and make new progress.

In the afternoon of 29 November, Vice Premier Wan Li went to Jingzhou to inspect the construction of Jingzhou old town, cultural development and Jingzhou Museum. Accompanying him were Governor Guo Zhenqian and leaders from the Jingzhou prefectural CPC committee and the administrative office. He chatted warmly with the people in charge and inquired about economic development and the construction of the two civilizations in the Jingzhou area and Jiangling County. He fully affirmed their achievements and expressed the hope that "Greater Jingzhou" would make even greater contributions. Comrade Wan Li and his party ended his inspection tour of the Jingzhou-Shashi area and left the province the same day.

12581  
CSO: 4005/338

## GUIZHOU VILLAGE-LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION WORK REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 87 p 4

[Text] Not long ago, the party rectification staff office of the Guizhou Provincial Party Committee dispatched inspection groups to 10 different counties to check on the progress of party rectification at the village level. Based on the weak links discovered and the problems awaiting solution, the inspection group made their recommendations for the rectification to be carried out satisfactorily from beginning to end.

From these inspections, the party rectification staff office learned that despite the healthy development and marked achievements of village party rectification in most units, there were still certain weak links and problems in urgent need of solution. First, the rectification carried out by some village party branches had not produced any noticeable results or brought about any significant change. The education for some party branch members was done perfunctorily. They were required only to read some documents and were then registered. The leading bodies of some party branches still had not solved their major problems because of their weakness and laxity in work. In some cases, collective finance was not handled conscientiously, and some commitments were not duly honored. Some of these leading bodies have not yet set up the rules and regulations for consolidating and developing the gains of party rectification and for strengthening the party organizations. Second, there were many problems in organizational measures and the registration of party members. For example, postponement of registration was used in lieu of organizational measures or party disciplinary action; some party members with serious problems were registered before being thoroughly checked out; the standards of organizational measures was not uniform or strictly observed, and laxity in enforcement was fairly obvious.

The party rectification staff office of the Guizhou Provincial Party Committee believed that these problems were caused, first, by the lack of adequate inspection and supervision over village party rectification and the failure of the county party committee to solve the problems promptly. Second, the leaders of some party organizations did not study the documents thoroughly and did not know much about the requirements of party rectification. Therefore, they could not strictly follow the policies about organizational measures and the registration of party members. Third, some county, district, and township party committees had slackened their efforts.

In view of the problems detected during the inspection, the party rectification staff office of the Guizhou Provincial Party Committee urged party committees at all levels to conduct a comprehensive rectification at the village level in order to discover the weak links and problems and then recommend specific measures for their solution. For those party branches which failed in the party rectification acceptance test, remedial measures must be taken according to the requirements set forth in the documents of the Central Committee, the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation, and the Provincial Party Committee, and a time limit should be set for the problems to be solved. Those party members who happened to be away in other places and have not yet participated in the rectification should as a matter of principle make up their work according to some centralized and unified arrangement.

Furthermore, a careful check should be conducted once more on organizational measures and the registration of party members, and the problems discovered should be solved promptly. Every effort must be made to ensure the satisfactory completion of these tasks and to avoid any mistakes that may cause future trouble.

9411  
CSO: 4005/294

## SICHUAN REVIEWS INTELLECTUALS POLICY WORK

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by reporter Luo Maocheng [5012 5399 1004]: "Sichuan Reexamines Fulfillment of Intellectuals Policy"]

[Text] Recently the Sichuan provincial party committee formulated plans to inspect earnestly throughout the province the work of fulfilling the policy on intellectuals and solving issues left from history, and demanded the adoption of positive measures to solve within a time limit problems uncovered in the inspection, leave no loose ends, and thereby create a relaxed and harmonious environment for intellectuals and fully activate and develop their enthusiasm in the four modernizations program.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, especially since 1982, party organizations at all levels in Sichuan have performed a large volumes of work in fulfilling the intellectuals policy and made marked achievements. Today, the majority of basic-level units throughout the province have basically solved the problems of intellectuals left by history. According to statistics, by the end of last July, unjust, false, and wrong cases involving 95,801 persons had been redressed, assets seized during the "Cultural Revolution" had been returned to 7,195 persons, 1,828 rooms of private housing confiscated during the "Cultural Revolution" had been restored to 557 persons, and 19.4 million yuan in wages wrongfully withheld or deducted had been paid to 9,085 persons. The problems of extended separation of married couples involving 869 persons due to unjust, false, and wrong cases and the problems of their family members in "changing status from farming to nonfarming" involving 3,034 persons had been solved. In addition, in January 1986, 114,700 plus persons received the honor of party membership, and many intellectuals were promoted to leading posts at various levels. Large groups of intellectuals employed outside their fields were readjusted. Their work and living conditions have been improved considerably, and the social custom of respecting knowledge and talent has been preliminarily formed throughout the province.

Nevertheless, due to the influence of the "leftist" ideology and slackness and inertia, over 1,000 fairly difficult historical issues involving intellectuals still await solution. Starting from Sichuan's practical conditions, the provincial party committee clearly specifies the main subjects of the current inspection: whether, by seeking truth from facts, the unjust, false, and

wrong cases have been redressed and rectified according to policy provisions, whether the parties concerned have been notified of the new conclusions of their cases, and whether the work of removing the effect of such cases on the parties concerned has been earnestly performed; whether, due to erroneous handling, problems of irrational employment and misuse of talents, separation of married couples, separation of children from parents, implication of innocent family members, and obvious underpayment of wages have been solved according to pertinent regulations; whether materials in personnel files which should be discarded, destroyed, or returned to the parties concerned have been discarded, destroyed, or returned; whether wages withheld because of the unjust, false, and wrong cases during the "Cultural Revolution" have been paid; whether assets seized have been returned or compensated for; whether confiscated private lodgings have been vacated and returned according to pertinent regulations or satisfactorily solved by other means; whether incorrectly prosecuted cases among the economic and criminal cases in recent years have been reinvestigated and rectified; whether cases involving deceased or transferred persons needing attention in policy implementation have been reinvestigated and rectified; and so forth.

The provincial party committee demands that leaders of party committees and organizational and personnel departments at all levels fully recognize the importance of the inspection, treat the investigation and solution of historical problems of intellectuals as an important major assignment, strengthen leadership, pay close attention to and properly perform the work, and strive to conclude the assignment before the end of next February. The provincial party committee will send investigation groups in March to various areas to make spot inspections.

6080/12951  
CSO: 4005/212

## DISCIPLINE INSPECTION SECRETARY SUPPORTS REFORMERS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Dec 86 p 5

[Article by Wang Maodun [3769 4243 4163], Wang Quansheng [3769 0356 0524], and Lu Pin [0712 0756]: "Changzi County Discipline Inspection Secretary Wang Tingyi Supports Reformers"]

[Text] "When a reformer encounters reproaches and blame, discipline inspection cadres are derelict in their duties if they fail to speak out, and criminal if they punish the reformer on any excuse..." These words of Whang Tingyi [3769 1656 5030], discipline inspection secretary of Shanxi's Changzhi County, at the Changzhi County party style rectification experience exchange meeting held on 24 September evoked strong reactions among those attending the meeting.

General branch secretary Ma Jianquan [7456 1696 0356] of the county boiler plant is a young man who is eager on reform and a controversial figure. While serving as director of the county washing-machine plant, he made contributions in the trial manufacture and production of the Haitang brand washing machine. After transferring to the boiler plant in early 1982, he adopted a series of refor measures on the wage system, the quality of products, and production and operation, and rapidly extricated the plant from a difficult situation.

Nevertheless, the greater the profit tax the plant paid to the state, the more people looked for trouble with him. "Defying the leadership," "deceiving superiors and hoodwinking subordinates," "cheating to win honors"--thus they slandered him epithet by epithet. In May 1985, he invited several scientists and technicians from outside areas, used spare time to design new products for the plant, and paid the expenses according to pertinent regulations. Some people immediately made groundless accusations, wrote to the county discipline inspection commission, and criticized him for "giving banquets and gifts and offering and accepting bribes."

In regard to the accusations, Wang Tingyi took an extremely unequivocal attitude, believing that no credence could be given such palpable lies. Advise to stay out of trouble he declared firmly: In the face of right and wrong discipline inspection cadres must be meticulous! He made a special trip to visit Ma Jianquan, who was sick in the hospital, and encouraged and supported him in his reform endeavor. After his discharge from the hospital, Ma Jianquan led the workers of the whole plant to unite and struggle, and

realized 1.01 million yuan in profits last year. The 0.5-ton horizontal quick-installation boiler was evaluated a provincial superior product.

Over the past year or more, Wang Tingyi directed the investigation and prosecution of seven false accusations against reformers, and the offenders were punished according to the law or subjected to party and government disciplinary actions.

To adapt discipline inspection work to the new situation of reform, Wang Tingyi regularly visits the basic level to clarify conditions and, by way of investigation and study, personally wrote "On the Relations of Party Style Rectification with Reform" and The Dividing Line Between Unhealthy Practices and Enlivening the Economy." Distributed as county discipline inspection documents to party organizations at various levels, these articles won favorable reactions from basic-level units and praises from various county government departments.

Reform itself is a form of exploration, and mistakes are at times unavoidable. Wang Tingyi admonished the personnel handling cases against oversimplification and uniformity in tackling problems emerging in reform, and urged them to master policies and act with caution.

A director of the county low-tension electrical appliance plant once borrowed 10,000 yuan of public money for the relative of a superior unit leader. Last year someone brought the matter up. Some comrades felt that it was a serious case of using power for private gain and should be investigated and prosecuted, but Wang Tingyi advised against a hasty conclusion and went to the plant that same day to ascertain the facts. It turned out that the said plant had trouble recovering 70,000 yuan in loans, and the leader of the superior unit promised to help with the collection, but asked for a 10,000-yuan loan for his peasant relative, to be repaid in 3 months. In order to recover the unpaid loans, the plant director agreed. After clarifying the situation, Wang Tingyi made a detailed report to members of the discipline inspection commission. All agreed that the plant director should not be charged with personal responsibility and that the matter should be handled as a mistake in the course of reform. Wang Tingyi declared: "The plant director made a mistake because he was not clear about the policy demarcations. We must help him face up to the mistake and correct it." With the help of the party organization, the plant director made an intensive self-examination. (What happened to the leader who took advantage of someone's predicament to benefit his own relative? His conduct cannot be classified as "a mistake in the course of reform."--Editor)

Wang Tingyi showed no mercy to persons displaying the banner of reform to violate the law and discipline and commit economic crimes. A letter from the people received by the discipline inspection commission revealed that a vice chairman of the county planning commission used power for commerce and pursued exorbitant profits. The vice chairman, a self-styled "reformer," was a "senior" party member of over 40 years' standing and had many "old ties" in the county and above. Should the case be investigated? Wang Tingyi categorically declared: "Investigate!" After repeated investigations, it was finally found that the vice chairman, under the pretext of getting

for "young intellectuals," fraudulently utilized railway transport quotas and successively made exorbitant profits amounting to more than 100,000 yuan. During the investigations, the vice chairman defended his act as a mistake made in the course of reform, and numerous "kind-hearted" leaders interceded for him many times. However, Wang Tingyi declared: "If we fail to punish offenders using the loopholes of reform, we will not be able to protect true reformers." Currently the case has been submitted to the political-legal branch for prosecution.

6080/12951  
CSO: 4005/212

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ZHANG AIPIING'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHINA'S SPACE PROGRAM

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [LIBERATION ARMY LITERATURE & ART] No 10, 1 Oct 86  
pp 104-109

[Article by Wang Zhenxian [3769 2182 6343]: "The Ministry of National Defense and the 'Long March' Rocket"]

[Text] "Long March No 3" carrier rocket stands erect beside the imposing Xichang Spaceflight City launch tower on Long March Road awaiting lift off as the numbers on the Greenwich Mean Time clock pulse away. It will carry an "East Is Red No 2" communications satellite into a synchronous earth orbit 36,000 kilometers above the earth, thereby moving China's satellite communications from the experimental phase to the live phase.

It is still 3 days away from the scheduled launch date. On 28 January 1986 comes sad news from the other side of the earth that America's "Challenger" space shuttle has blown up in the twinkling of an eye following launch. The thick smoke and flames over the Atlantic Ocean casts a shadow over world spaceflight.

While the unhappy news is being broadcast, at Xichang Spaceflight City, at the Weinan Metering and Control Center and at the oceangoing metering flotilla, telephones are carrying the deep voice of State Council member and concurrent Minister of National Defense, Zhang Aiping [1728 1947 5493].

"The plunge of 'Challenger' puts us on guard. Despite the high level of its science and technology, and despite its great amount of experience in spaceflight, America sustained a loss. We should carefully check and inspect once again all parts and all links to make sure that the 'Long March No 3' rocket is successful!"

The lights are all on at the mountain-ringed spaceflight city. Rocket experts go up and down the launch tower in a race against time to make a rigorous inspection inside the body of the magnificent "Long March." Satellite experts are busy inside and outside the test building, scrupulously checking out every nerve and every cell of the ingeniously and delicately wrought "East Is Red." Chemists are working with rapt attention inside the laboratory trying to improve the liquid hydrogen and the liquid oxygen that provides thrust for the rocket and making another chemical analysis of all fuel. Meteorologists are

observing the clouds and measuring winds from peaks rising one higher than the other, wracking their brains to make a complete analysis of data, making repeated extrapolations. Communications experts prick up their ears to catch every signal. The power plant foreman, his eyes bloodshot from lack of sleep, is readying several plans for supplying electricity. Local industrial plants have also decided to halt production at the time the rocket is fired, adding electricity from the civilian sector as a reserve source of power for the "Long March." The mess personnel laboring 24 hours a day in the heat and rising steam are no longer able to distinguish whether they are making breakfast, lunch, dinner or a night meal. Public security police, guard soldiers and militia brave the scorching sun and biting winds to guard their posts on mountain peaks and in deep valleys...

The lights are burning at the spaceflight city, which never sleeps, at the fully illuminated Weinan Metering and Control Center, at the "distant watch" metering flotilla on the equator in the Pacific Ocean and at the widely scattered testing network throughout the country, as well as at the fully illuminated offices of the Ministry of National Defense.

"Reporting all tests and checks completed. Everything normal."

"Is an on-time launch assured?"

"Yes. Victory is in sight."

"I don't want 'victory in sight'; I want victory in hand!" The tone of the Minister of National Defense emphasizes: "In order to be even more certain, please make one more scrupulous test and inspection."

The bank of computers spins nervously and the digital displays flash constantly. The surrounding rocket and satellite awaiting launch and the huge systems undergo a complete testing and inspection for the second time in 3 days. "Everything normal" resounds throughout general headquarters and in the brain of the Minister of National Defense.

The scheduled launch date: 1 February 1986

The northern suburbs of the capital at the command hall of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission.

The Minister of National Defense is all seriousness, his stern gaze fixed on the various images on the broad display screens as he leans to hear the commands and counter commands from all locations.

".....5, 4, 3, 2, 1, ignition! Lift off!"

A tremendous roar.... "Lift off successful!"

A twinkling speck of light appears at the lower left hand side of the screen at Xichang on a map of China and moves along a predetermined parabolic track.

"Tracking normal!" "Tracking normal!" ...

The command hall is silent, people's minds accompany the "Long March No 3" as it rises and rises into space.

Suddenly, the sound of clapping resounds in the hall, and people's gaze turns toward the Minister of National Defense. He is looking all around in all directions applauding the persons there. His face breaks into a smile and his eyes glisten. He applauds the comrades from the Ministry of Astronautics and the Ministry of Electronics Industry, and he he applauds in the direction of the comrades from the PLA General Headquarters and from the various services and branches of service.

Thunderous applause resounds and great jubilation pervades the whole hall like a spring breeze.

Another successful launch of the "Long March" at Changzheng Road!

The "Long March" has been successful at Long March Road on many occasions just as the career of the Minister of National Defense has seen many successes making people rejoice. But the flavor of the rejoicing has not always been the same. Sometimes it has been intoxicatingly sweet; sometimes it has been extraordinarily bitter and astringent and sometimes it has been sweet with a large dose of bitterness and astringency...

Noon, 29 November 1975.

The first successful recovery of the "Vanguard" satellite fired by a "Long March" rocket was made, making China the third country in the world after the USSR and the United States to have mastered this highly precise and advanced space technique and arousing a strong sensation around the world. This is a wonderful success!

However, the chief of staff and concurrent director of the National Defense Science and Technology Commission at the time, Zhang Aiping, was surrounded by an atmosphere of attack, criticism and struggle while he was organizing and directing this successful launch. He labored under a burden of many accusations. He was a "go-getter in the reversal of a leftist deviation verdict." He had never once said that "the Cultural Revolution is good." He had said that "Today is not as good as the past," and he was a "vanguard against the Great Cultural Revolution." He had "tried in vain to bring into the world a Chinese satellite bearing the Red Banner."....

During the unprecedented 10 years, he had to endure repeated tribulations. He had to wear a sign, to sit "jet propelled." He had his house searched and his property confiscated and he was thoroughly discredited. He was imprisoned for 5 and one-half years. His leg was broken... Nevertheless, as soon as he was given work in 1975, dragging his leg, he immediately set to work. It is difficult to alter one's character!

The first goal he aimed at was to bring forth the "Long March" long range carrier rocket at an early date.

The first point of attack was development and production of the heart of a carrier rocket, its gyroscope.

The position for the attack was established at the No 230 Plant of the First Research Institute of the Ministry of Aeronautics.

The method to be used was to take hold of technical validation, design and production with one hand while eliminating factionalism and promoting unity with the other hand. If he was not going to attempt a task, he would do nothing, but once he set to work, he worked with might and main.

This position was renowned throughout the country as a lair of "three horses and one dragon" heading the rebel faction. The factional battle fought here had been like a raging fire that burned for a long time without diminishing. The modern production workshop had been smashed to smithereens. The water pipes leaked water that formed 2 meter high ice pillars that looked like stalactites and the floor was covered with icy hollows. A thick layer of dust had accumulated on the machinery, some of which were spotted with rust and corrosion. Weeds flourished in the courtyard and garbage littered the area. Tables and benches in offices and the messhall were either broken or had "disappeared." The windows and doors, looking like dismembered and broken limbs, moaned and swung in the cold wind.... He remembered how this enterprise had been founded through extreme hardship and exertion during the 1950's from a poor and blank foundation. He remembered how this enterprise had soared with full power and grandeur during the hardship period in the early 1960's. He clenched his teeth with a grinding sound, pounded the ground with a deep feeling of sadness and roared to the desolation all around him: "Wastrels!"

Revamp! Revamp! From March till the beginning of May, he made the rounds of every workshop and technical office. He talked sincerely and earnestly with several hundred people (particularly to the heads of factions), and he made 50 long speeches at large meetings alone. He devoted himself to getting things done, taking firm grip on one thing after another. He formulated a cultivated production system; he sent a message requesting the Military Affairs Committee to send a battalion of engineering troops to repair all plant buildings; he built a nursery school, and he enlarged the living quarters for staff members and workers. He recovered or reconditioned the tables, chairs and benches, and he worked with mess personnel on variety in meals. He invited leaders from the National Defense Science and Technology Commission and scientists from the Ministry of Astronautics. He performed a series of validations of the design plans for the jiaodui [6037 1018] configuration and the three stage configuration gyroscopes about which he held endless discussions with the two factions. When he uttered a slogan, it was very sonorous: Everyone should be of the "71" faction, the Communist Party faction! The Party's interests are above all! Bring out the "Long March" long range carrier rocket early to win honor for the Chinese race! To win honor for the great motherland!

Within a month and a half, No 230 Plant changed. It was restored to ship shape inside and out. The attendance rate reached 96 percent (the other 4 percent being faction heads and the ill). Research, design and production personnel from both factions warmly shook hands with each other, unknowingly holding the heart of the carrier rocket in their hand clasps.

Research, development and production of the "Long March" carrier rocket moved along at breakneck speed on the right track. This infused great vitality into his injury and sickness-ridden body and added a happy smile to his thin face. He worked even more ferociously. He was first to work in the morning, standing at the entrance to the plant to welcome the workers. In the evening, he was last to leave the plant with comrades from the night shift.

He was 64 years old that year, yet he was busy like this from morning till night, frequently not bothering to eat, not bothering to drink, not bothering to sleep, or even not bothering to go to the toilet. He limped upstairs and downstairs, running everywhere, and constantly urging people along here and there to work till they were weary in body and mind!

The young cadres at the prime of life in the work team that made the rounds with him were unable to keep up the pace, so how could he do it? When he returned "home" in the middle of the night, (his home had formerly been a Military Affairs Commission "mansion," but when he was "liberated" from prison, he was destitute and homeless, so he went to live in a guest house maintained by the Ocean Shipping Company warehouse) he still read through and commented on a small mountain of documents. He was in charge not only of the Ministry of Aeronautics, let alone a single No 230 Plant.

He could lie on a bed only with difficulty. The small of his back and his leg hurt so much he could not turn over. His wife, Li Youlan [2621 0642 5695], nursed him and when she saw that his swollen and inflamed leg was becoming terribly swollen, she shed large drops of hot tears on him. But he was still like the deputy commander of the Central China Military Region at an earlier time when he lightly wiped the tears from his loving wife's face after returning from the battlefield where, despite a serious head wound, he had commanded the Third Army on the southern Xuzhou front in the defeat of two "Nationalist" divisions commanded by the famous General Li Pinxian [2621 0756 0103]. He was also like the deputy division commander of the 3rd division of the New Fourth Army returning triumphantly in a former time after having led the every victorious 9th brigade in a bloody battle against the Japanese invaders in the water-laced terrain of northern Jiangsu Province, when he married after resisting the Japanese enemy and rubbed his wife's shoulder, his eyes brimming with affection.

"Do you still remember the story about Moganshan?"

His wife looked up through her tearful eyes, nodded slowly and quietly massaged him.

"Gan Jiang and his wife Moye cast a sabre..."

Either because she did not want to think about the moving and tragic story or because he was already extremely weary, his wife quickly added:

"How could I forget! I am from Zhejiang after all!"

The old general smiled sweetly, Gently massaged by his wife, he slowly closed his eyes. In a somnollient state, he said:

"Since you want me to take charge of this work, I want to do a good job of it!"

Early the following day, his wife saw him off, he was in a car sitting straight up, and gazed at him as he gradually moved farther away and became lost in the misty fog.

...

All of this had become his indictment.

He received the announcement of the successful recovery of the "vanguard" satellite while in a criticism and struggle meeting and the strong sour astringent and bitter flavors intermingled with this joyous news welled up in his mind.

He disdainfully cast a sidelong glance at the person in the struggle meeting who was gesticulating toward him, and turned toward the comrade who had brought the battle report:

"Where did 'vanguard' fall?"

In a woods to the west of the chain bridge at Guanling by Beipan Jiang. The parachute got hung up in the tree tops and the photographic canister was completely intact."

"Huh? Beipan Jiang, Beipan Jiang!" He muttered, "I fought a battle there during the Long March!"

...

In early April 1935 after the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army crossed the Chi Shui, it drove toward Guiyang. Chiang Kai-shek, who had assumed personal command of forces there, was on tenterhooks and had issued an urgent command to the Yunnan warlord, Long Yun [7893 0061], to send reinforcements with all possible speed. This fitted in precisely with Mao Zedong's scheme for the transfer of forces outside Yunnan Province. The Red Army intended to force its way across the Beipan Jiang and attack Yunnan.

After the regimental political commissar and concurrently regimental commander of the 11th Regiment of the Third Army, Zhang Aiping, (who had been director of the Political Department of the 4th Division before the reduction and reorganization decided on at the Zunyi Conference, had concurrently become regimental commander after the commander of the 11th Regiment had been wounded

in the battle for Loushan Pass) led his forces to occupy Guangshun, he received a radioed command from Army Group Commander Peng Dehuai saying that the forces led by the commander of the 13th Regiment, Peng Xuefeng [3403 7185 2800], had been unsuccessful in their attempt to seize the chain bridge at Guanling disguised as enemy troops, so the army group had decided to change to a crossing of the river at Zhenfeng. The 11th Regiment was ordered to make a forced march in order to arrive before noon on the following day to occupy the Baiceng ferry crossing at Zhenfeng and to erect a pontoon bridge to enable the whole army to cross.

By 4:00 pm on the same day, the 11th Regiment had made a forced march of 180 li through mountain roads and had entered the area inhabited by the Yi nationality. Beipan Jiang was another 140 li distant.

Worried lest he not arrive on time, Zhang Aiping urged the troops to march faster. But another harrassing attack was encountered in a narrow stretch of road that had to be traversed. Commander Wang of the Yi had ordered that the troops not be allowed to pass.

"Halt the advance. Don't return fire." He suppressed his anxiety and sent the head of the political section, Wang Ping [3769 1627], to go ahead to parley.

Every minute and every second was precious; there could be no further delay. He rushed forward himself. He explained the Red Army's policies to Commander Wang and agreed to remain behind as a hostage. Under the light of the moon, the patient Red Army commissar and the very, very suspicious commander of the Yi people sat beside each other on a mountain top, watching all the troops move silently along the road through the mountain stronghold.

Commissar Zhang also made a gift of more than 10 Hanyang-made rifles as a good-bye present. The rigorously disciplined Red Army impressed Commander Wang who dispatched an aide-de-camp to serve as a guide, to serve as liaison along the way and to accompany the Red Army.

The 11th Regiment reached the Beipan Jiang within 1 night and one-half day. The Baiceng ferry crossing on the other shore had already been occupied by the enemy army, so the regiment changed its plan of crossing the river upstream where the water not neck high and hurried to seize commanding ground on the mountain on the opposite shore. The sound of rifle fire came from that shore, meaning that a battalion of the enemy army that had come to make an harrassing attack was in the process of taking the mountain top.

Political commissar Zhang immediately ordered heavy machine guns to be set up on high slopes along the river bank to lay down intense fire on the mountain. The Red Army soldiers, moving so fast they made wind beneath their feet, ferociously assaulted and took the mountain top.

The enemy could not hold out, and during the evening an aide-de-camp arrived to beg for mercy. "We cannot outfight the Red Army. We are willing to admit defeat. We would prefer to withdraw. Let's continue with a sham battle so we can return and tell our superiors that we accomplished our mission."

The Red Army's machine guns fired "rat-a-tat-tat" into the night sky while the hearty laughter and cheering of Zhang Aiping and the soldiers of the regiment shook the firmament and reverberated through the mountains on both shores of the Beipan Jiang.

...

It was really a coincidence that "Vanguard" had landed there!

At this moment, he laughed. He laughed from the bottom of his heart. He surveyed the site of the struggle meeting, with his eyes and darted a disdainful glance at those who were so vehemently criticizing him in a hackneyed fashion. He fished a little book from his pocket and began to write:

#### Words Right From the Heart

"Long March" has lofted "Vanguard" 10,000 li;  
Spring has returned to the good earth.

...

Chaos prevails everywhere;  
Our Divine Land is in turmoil.

...

Great adversity threatens;  
A magical sword is in hand waiting to capture monsters!

After the "Long March No 3" carrier rocket had placed the communications satellite "East Is Red No 2" in synchronous earth orbit, the destruction of America's "Challenger" space craft was followed by a series of failures in the aerospace realm, and France's carrier rocket also exploded while rising into space. Thus, Sweden's space company took the lead followed by the United States, the United Kingdom, Holland and Indonesia, more than 10 nations in all asking to use the Chinese "Long March No 3 carrier rocket to launch their satellites.

The extremely busy Minister of National Defense followed with great interest the changeable situation in the world, followed with great interest the arrival in a steady stream of representatives of satellite companies from various countries, and followed with great interest the Chinese text and the text in various foreign languages of accords and agreements signed. He was enraptured by the majestic carrier rocket "Long March," and the young Chinese Xichang aerospace city on Long March Road constantly flickered through his mind...

It was in May, a May more than 51 years ago, that during the Long March in the area between Jinsha Jiang and Dadu He that he had walked into that remote, delapidated, unsightly and impoverished little city. He had been shaken by the

poverty there. People were so starved that their skin covered only bones, and they were so poor they had no clothes to wear. They were breathing feebly and on the verge of death in a slave society. He had also been encouraged by the consciousness of those poverty stricken people. People held in both their hands the grain that the Red Army had doled out to them, shedding tears freely. They helped the Red Army without concern for their own safety and cast their lot with the Red Army. When he tearfully said good-bye to the elders at Xichang, he had said, I am leaving you in order to be with you again. If I live, I will certainly see to it that a brand new Xichang City rises here.

Forty-eight years later, during a new long march from the period of bringing order out of chaos into the next century, he really did come to this tidy, robust and beautiful, and richly endowed new city. Once again he was encouraged by the circumstances here. Simultaneous with half a century of mankind's progress, this place had vaulted from a slave society into modern times. Not only did the people have plentiful clothing and abundant food, but they had also taken a long march together with the motherland toward modern civilization. During the course of this long march, the name Xichang has become linked with that of all science cities in the world that have first rate aerospace facilities. After inspecting preparations for China's first synchronous earth communications satellite, his eyes brimming with tears, he again told the elders of Xichang: Be proud and dignified! Sing merrily and jump for joy! Xichang will win glory for China in the modern age! In the course of two long marches in half a century, he had closely linked his own destiny with that of Xichang.

Today and tomorrow the "Long March" rocket will lift China's and mankind's satellites from here and will fly majestically toward space. When he thought about the magnificent feats that the world of today is focusing on, and when he thought of special glory that boosted popular morale, his thoughts were tempestuous.

Following the accident at Chernobyl in which a nuclear power station vented, he immediately gathered together a few score scientists and technicians from various fields at the Qinshan nuclear power plant in Zhejiang Province that he had formerly been in charge of. They climbed mountains, went into tunnels and went up loading bridges, making repeated and painstaking complete inspections of this project that China had itself researched and developed. He also convened detailed study conferences at the site and in Shanghai that corrected improper methods, revived effective systems, made thoroughgoing adjustments and formulated a whole series of actions to insure quality at the project and set a time period for the completion of construction to effect them. He said, "All the work we do is for the purpose of creating wealth for the people. We positively cannot cause disasters through negligence or errors!" No sooner had he returned to Beijing that he set about writing and reading even before he had washed away the dust accumulated during his travels. He wrote the following letter to Ministry of National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission Chairman Ding Henggao [0002 1899 7559] and Political Commissar Wu Shaozu [0124 4801 4371], and to Minister Li Xue [2621 4872 6759] of the Ministry of Astronautics.

Comrades Henggao and Shaozu, with transmittal to Xue and other Party organization comrades:

Inspection of the state of construction of the Qinshan Nuclear Power Plant has caused me to devote attention to the issue of making sure of success in the Ministry of Astronautics' foreign satellites launches.

That China's carrier rocket has been able to penetrate international markets and has been able to undertake the task of launching satellites for the most technologically advanced country, the United States, is naturally a great honor for China. Even more it is a tribute to the science and technology, the research and development and the launches that you have displayed in your aerospace undertakings as well as to the many years of arduous efforts, the assiduous tackling of key problems, the spirit of self-reliance and the vigorous coordination that all leaders and workers have displayed. How much I look forward to the success of the shot! A failure now would not only be a humiliation for the achievements already made in China's aerospace technology, but it would also tarnish the motherland. For this reason, I ask that you and all comrades begin now to address this matter in a conscientious way. There are no miraculous methods. We can only continue to work earnestly and diligently, attentively and meticulously, and steadily and dependably as we have always done. We must require and have a work style that allows for no slip ups, and the whole body of effective organization of command and design that focuses on quality as well as engineering systems work must be carried out with scrupulous attention to detail in a step by step way. There positively can be no negligence or dereliction of duty on the part of any individual or any link. There must be rigorous implementation of unified leadership of command under which there is energetic coordination, each person discharging his duties, each person carrying out his responsibilities, and each sector exercising its authority. Any failure to discharge the duties of one's position must be severely punished. The drowning man of which I have frequently spoken is not a man who cannot swim. All comrades should continue to be constantly vigilant! To reiterate, I hope that a thorough mobilization of the whole body of comrades who are taking part in this shot for research and development purposes will be carried out at once. You should be imbued with a high sense of political responsibility toward the motherland and toward aerospace endeavors and deal with each task. I hope there will be no launch failures caused as a result of subjective errors! I wish you a successful shot in advance.

Hurriedly,

Zhang Aiping

30 May 1986.

Written in August 1986 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the victorious Long March.

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CSO:4005/274

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

REPORT ON DUAL-TALENT PERSONNEL IN EAST CHINA SEA FLEET

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Correspondent Cao Huanrong [2580 3562 2837]: "Popularize, Persevere and Improve; Sidelights on the East China Sea Fleet Conference For the Exchange of Experiences on the Training of Persons in Skills Useful in Both Civilian and Military Life"]

[Text] On 23 November, the correspondent boarded Navy Ship No 131 departing from Shanghai for Zhoushan to take part in the East China Sea Fleet Conference For the Exchange of Experiences on the Training of Persons in Skills Useful in Both Civilian and Military Life.

A look at the situation in the Navy shows that a change has taken place during the past 1 or 2 years in skills required by seamen at the grassroots level. In the training of talent in many units, training has been in "small skills" from the outset. But with the passage of time, seamen have not confined themselves to "fixing shoes, repairing watches and clocks and such, or to cooking, photography and things like that." Some hope to learn about industrial plants, particularly production techniques urgently needed in rural enterprises. Some want to study financial accounting, enterprise management and such specialized knowledge. Some hope to take part in civilian vocational schools, in correspondence courses and in self study for examination. The training of people in skills useful in both military and civilian life has begun to divide up into various levels with some people gradually moving from the acquisition of manual skills to the acquisition of knowledge.

Yet another change has been that seamen are not content with "night school" and "short courses" lasting 3 to 5 days, and they have also not been interested in vague roles as "part time workers" or "part time peasants." They are looking for a "regular" level that "the civilian sector can recognize" once they have attained it.

These two tendencies are being given close attention by cadres at all levels in the Navy.

At the conference, Navy Deputy Commander Zhang Xusan [1728 1645 0005] pointed out that 75 percent of the old seamen who will be retired from the Navy during the coming year want to master one or two skills useful in civilian life.

Senior cadres in all units who are in charge of this task are fairly certain about being able to attain this objective. This is because they have a good idea of how to do it. Not long ago, the training of people with skills useful in both military and civilian life was made a part of education and training from the Central Military Affairs Committee to the leadership of the Navy. This means that the training of people in skills used in civilian life has been "integrated" with military training, political education and general education and made one of the courses that seamen must complete during their period of service.

The first "school for skills used in civilian life" in the armed forces operated by a destroyer zhidui shows some creativity. The school has regular school facilities, course outlines and an examination system. It has regular teachers. The reporter saw more than 100 old seamen who had just completed military training leave a moving ship to go into a school where they put on the school badge and went to courses in piloting ships, machinery repair, cooking, and health. Reportedly similar schools are being operated by all units in the Navy.

The regularization of training has shown up in quality. A certain landing ship zhidui engaged in the training of personnel is providing instruction in accordance with technical grade standards set by national units concerned. Following joint examination by the civilian and the military sectors, they can receive a certificate issued by the civilian sector.

Personnel with skills useful in both military and civilian life have to be jointly trained by the military and the civilian sectors. During the past 2 years, some industrial plants in Shanghai have helped the armed forces in the training of personnel in skills useful in both military and civilian life, becoming key elements in the joint military and civilian campaign for building spiritual civilization. When naval ships go in for repairs, the "ships go into a plant and the personnel go into a school." The repair plants have also set up corresponding courses for seamen producing a large number of skilled people at the second and third level of technical competence.

The reporter learned at the conference that in addition to the joint examination and issuance of a certificate mentioned earlier, naval units are also looking for cooperation and support from civilian government departments, schools and scientific associations in providing teachers and teaching materials. In the training of persons in skills useful in both military and civilian life, the armed forces very much hope that the civilian sector will provide more skilled personnel and required information.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### STATUS OF ZHEJIANG COASTAL DEFENSE MILITIA WORK

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Yang Yongkang [2799 3057 1660], Zhao Renchun [6392 0088 2504] and Cheng Zhenkai [4453 2182 7030]: "Create a New Situation in Peacetime Militia Work. Province-wide Experience-Exchange Conference on Pilot Project For Reform of Coastal Defense Militia Work Convened in Zhoushan"]

[Text] The province-wide conference for the exchange of experiences on a pilot project for reform of coastal defense militia work, which was convened jointly by the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial Military Region, was held from 15 through 19 November at Zhoushan. Deputy Provincial Governor Xu Xingguan [6079 5887 6306] and Provincial Military Region Commander Li Qing [7812 3237] attended the conference and gave speeches.

The central topic for study and discussion at this conference was how to create a new situation in militia work during peacetime. Delegates from 15 units that served as pilot projects for reform of militia work including the Zhoushan military sub-district, the Dongtou Women's Militia Company and the "Vanguard For Attacking the Enemy at Sea" from Wenling County gave briefings on their experiences at the conference.

In a speech, Deputy Provincial Governor Xu Xingguan called upon civilian CPC committees and governments at all levels to integrate the building of militia for coastal defense into economic construction and to treat it as an important task. At the present time, in particular, when the country is in the midst of concentrating its strength on socialist modernization and making major cutbacks in active service military units, it is even more important to devote serious attention to the building of reserve forces for national defense. It is necessary to conscientiously put into effect relevant instructions from the central authorities, make further readjustments and improvements in militia work related to coastal defense, and steadily increase the militia's coastal defense capabilities for independent self-defense.

Provincial Military Region Commander Li Qing noted that it is necessary to establish a peacetime coastal defense mentality in which the armed forces are the mainstay and the militia is the principal element, to focus on improvement of self-defense capabilities and to establish a militia corps that is in keeping with the building of the economy in coastal areas and a crack coastal defense. The rank and file of militia should take active part in the building

of the two civilizations to make a contribution to the vigorous development and flourishing of the coastal economy.

Comrades in charge from the General Staff and from the Nanjing Military Region gave speeches at the conference.

During an island inspection tour, Xu Xingguang and Li Qing affirmed the methods used by some places of organizing militia to take charge of national defense works and empty barracks in scattered defense areas, and they called upon militia at all levels to organize to do a solid job in carrying out this work.

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DEARTH OF INTELLECTUALS IN TAIWAN LAMENTED

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 12 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Yang Kuo-shu [2799 0948 2873], professor of psychology, Taiwan University: "Intellectuals Must Not Serve As Political Hacks"]

[Excerpts] There Is a Dearth of True Intellectuals

A person must possess such special qualities as abundant knowledge, social concern, pure motives, broad vision, noble ideals, analytical ability, independence, a critical spirit, and resilience before he can diagnose the problems of society and the state, comment on national affairs, suggest reforms, and provide ideals, thereby becoming a true intellectual. In terms of these criteria, we have discovered some disappointing facts. First of all, in recent decades, Taiwan's political and social soil has been extremely unfavorable to the cultivation of intellectuals. Since the national capital was moved to Taiwan, martial law has been stringently enforced. On the grounds of security first, centralization and control are pursued before everything. In this environment, parents, teachers, and superiors exhort their children, students, and subordinates to play safe and protect themselves. With everyone keeping vigilant and protecting himself, a worldly wise society of playing it safe and seeking one's own well-being has ultimately emerged. In such a society, most important matters are formalized and standardized, doubting is not tolerated, and analysis is unnecessary. Independent criticism brings trouble, and concern for society is discouraged. In such an environment of growth, naturally not many intellectuals can be trained. Even if there are a few "fish slipping through the net" and managing to have the semblance of intellectuals, most of them suffer from a congenital deficiency and postnatal neglect, exerting whatever energy spared from enduring all the bitterness in life to do what they can.

At the Nan-yuan conference this time, though the main topic of study was "Intellectuals and Taiwan's Development," the "intellectual giants" discussed in special papers included only Hu Shih [5170 6684], Hsu Fu-kuan [1776 1788 6034], Yin Hai-kuang [3009 3189 0342], and T'ao Pai-ch'uan [7118 4102 1557]. As all four of them spent their formative years on the mainland, strictly speaking they cannot be considered intellectuals trained in Taiwan. Other relatively outstanding aging intellectuals in Taiwan's society are all in the same situation. Meanwhile, among those under age 60, we see no outstanding ones. The fact that no decent intellectual has emerged in the 40 years since

the national capital was moved Taiwan is indeed something unusual but not commendable. After Professor Li Yuan-che [2621 6678 0772], a Chinese-American, won the Nobel prize for chemistry, many people lamented that it was impossible for Taiwan to produce any great masters in the academic world. Actually, in terms of Taiwan's mediocre educational and sociopolitical environment, even "great scholars" (intellectual giants), let alone great masters, are difficult to find.

#### Do Not Be Reduced to Political Hacks

For many years, the pressures and temptations borne by Taiwan's intellectuals have come from political authorities, industrial and commercial organizations, and the mass media. Political forces often exert themselves by both soft and hard tactics, combining threats with inducements, in order to break through their defenses and turn them into political hacks. Industrial and commercial communities habitually tempt them with economic benefits to pursue research and publish conclusions favorable to them. As the mass media, in control of public opinion, have the power to bring fame and wealth or wreak disgrace and ruin, no one willingly gives offense to newspapers and television. Under the temptations and pincer attacks of these three major pressures, intellectuals with their low resilience find it extremely difficult to uphold their own ideals and adhere to their own principles.

Naturally, the strongest pressures and temptations encountered by Taiwan's intellectuals come from the political authorities. In an environment of pan-politicalism, political pressures are omnipresent and, by visible or invisible means of all kinds, constantly suppress the intellectuals' thinking and expression. Under such influences, the fanatical grows ever more radical, the reserved becomes ever more equivocal, and the weak simply attaches himself to authority and turns himself into a partisan hack. Once the last path is taken, the best among them have to serve as interpreters of the power-holders' moves and try their best to find theoretical bases, and the inferior, in face of authority, can only parrot the words of others and turn themselves into thorough yesmen. By so doing, they are bound to benefit the high and the low, achieve success one way or another, and win the title of "sages." With such a general mood, what can one do other than utter hopeless cries?

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REACTIONS TO ENDING MARTIAL LAW, PARTY BAN SURVEYED

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 16 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by reporters Yen Chi-min [7051 3444 3046] and Li Che-hung [2621 0772 1347]: "Enlightened Ruling Party Will Win the People's Support!"]

[Text] The political reform programs on ending martial law and lifting the ban on the formation of political parties passed at the regular Kuomintang Central Committee meeting yesterday (15 October) immediately attracted wide attention in society. The two major political breakthroughs have become at once the focus of public discussion. Today the reporters conducted street-corner interviews for townspeople's reactions to the authorities' political reforms.

Chang Hung-chang [1728 7703 4545] (professor):

The government's decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban are commendable progressive measures.

In the 30-plus years since the government moved to Taiwan, rapid progress has been made in politics, economics, and education. Under its long-term leadership, the people have reached a common understanding that communist totalitarianism is bound to collapse and that a counterattack to regain the nation is the goal of all the people. Meanwhile, giving the people more freedom in political participation and permitting more political parties with identical goals but possibly different means to compete are doubtless wise measures for greater progress.

The "State Security Law" and the "Organizational Law of Mass Organizations" to be formulated must include fewer restrictions on the people's freedom in order to give substantive meaning to the decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban.

Lin Yu-lang [2651 5940 6745] (student):

The ruling party's enlightened decisions will win the support of the people. In terms of the state, the full expression and combination of diverse views will be conducive to the progress of the nation and society.

Today, the people's extent of knowledge and level of education are different from the past. After lifting the party ban, the people will have a wider choice of objectives and views. I feel that as long as the constitution is observed, the "Organization Law of Mass Organizations" to be formulated should not contain too many restrictions. Whether a political party is good or bad and whether it is viable should be left to voters.

Ch'en Chin-ch'uan [7115 6930 0356] (foreign affairs officer):

The ruling party decides to end martial law, yet plans to create a state security law. Such a practice gives one the feeling of the same medicine prepared in different ways. In terms of current laws and decrees, they are ample for the security of the state and society, and there is no need to create a state security law. In regard to an organizational law on mass organizations, political parties, which are different from mass organizations in general, are political in nature and have their special connotations. Political parties should strengthen their links and coordination and need no restrictions by laws and regulations.

Lin An-hung [2651 1344 1347] (teacher):

The ruling party's decisions on political reforms, ending martial law and lifting the party ban, are a new milestone in the growth of democracy and a mandatory path to democratic politics. Under China's present predicament, the timely passing of the decisions has a special importance. Precisely in line with the basic principle of "unity, harmony, and security" advocated by Chairman Chiang, the measures will enable China to build a reputation for democracy among the world's nations and are supported by Chinese at home and abroad.

Tung Jung-hua [5516 2837 5478] (merchant):

The authorities' decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban are greatly conducive to the growth of China's democracy. Hereafter, there will no longer be the situation of one-party control, and there will be checks and balances.

The most direct impact of ending martial law is the improvement of our international image, so that the world's people will not think that China is always in a turmoil. Lifting the ban on political organizations will permit more people to participate in national construction and allow some competition among political parties. It will accelerate national construction.

Chou Miao [0719 8675] (retired government worker):

China's martial law and party ban now in force have always been criticized by the people of the world. The decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban formally passed by the ruling party's central committee meeting indicate determination and sincerity in instituting a democratic and constitutional government and symbolize our progress toward democracy.

Hung Chao-mu [3163 2600 2606] (worker):

The two political reform programs passed by the Kuomintang are most encouraging, indicating China's progress toward democracy and freedom and demonstrating that it is indeed a democratic country. I personally support them.

TAIWAN

REACTIONS TO TAIWAN'S POLITICAL REFORMS POLLED

Taipei TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 21 Oct 86 p 2

[Article: "Poll Indicates Approval of Political Reforms"]

[Excerpts] Taipei--Upon a request by this paper, the "Association of Public Opinion Polls of the Republic of China" held "a Survey of Views of Residents of the Greater Taipei District on Ending Martial Law and Lifting the Ban on the Formation of Political Parties."

Journalism professor Ch'en Shih-min [7115 0013 2404] of the State University of Political Science, who is also secretary general of the Association of Public Opinion Polls, was in charge of the survey. It was conducted by systematic telephone sampling. From the residential telephone book of the Greater Taipei District, 820 samples were taken. After deducting the unanswered numbers, 440 samples were reached. Seventy-seven of those sampled refused to be interviewed, and 363 sets of answers were obtained. The error rate is within 5 percent plus or minus, and the refusal rate is 17.5 percent.

Details on the sampled population polled are as follows: Sex: women--46.7 percent; men--53.3 percent. Age: 20-40--70.6 percent; 41-60--23.5 percent; over 60--5.8 percent. Educational level: college and above--33.2 percent; middle school--46 percent; elementary school--16.6 percent; illiterate--only 3.9 percent. Origin: Taiwan native (including Taipen and Kao-hsiung Cities) --77.6 percent, and mainland--22.4 percent, roughly corresponding to the Greater Taipei District's population distribution by provincial origins.

Survey of Views of Residents of Greater Taipei District on Ending Martial Law and Lifting the Ban on the Formation of Political Parties

1. Do you know about the government's recent announcement to end martial law and lift the ban on the formation of political parties at an appropriate time?

1) Yes - 70.5 percent 2) No - 29.5 percent

2. What is your view on the government's decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban?

1) I strongly support them - 13.5 percent 2) I support them - 37.5 percent  
3) I do not support them - 16 percent 4) No opinion/don't know - 33 percent

3. Do you think that the "State Security Law" to be formulated by the government in place of martial law and the organizational law of mass organizations will achieve the anticipated goal of political reform?

1) Mostly - 26.9 percent 2) To a small extent - 30.6 percent 3) No - 9.1 percent 4) Don't know - 33.4 percent

4. Do you think the government's decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban will be conducive to the progress of democratic politics?

1) Greatly - 28.4 percent 2) Slightly - 34.5 percent 3) No - 9.2 percent 4) No opinion/don't know - 19 percent 5) Undecided - 8.9 percent

5. Do you think the government's decisions to end martial law and lift the party ban will be conducive to easing the tension between the Kuomintang and the nonparty opposition?

1) Greatly - 19.1 percent 2) Slightly - 35.4 percent 3) No - 15.1 percent 4) No opinion/don't know - 21.4 percent 5) Undecided - 8.9 percent

6. Do you think the government's decision to end martial law and lift the party ban will be conducive to encouraging businessmen to make investments?

1) Greatly - 10.9 percent 2) Slightly - 22.9 percent 3) No - 24.3 percent 4) No opinion/don't know - 32.9 percent 5) Undecided - 6.1 percent

7. Are you aware of the news that some nonparty figures have declared their intention to organize a party?

1) Yes - 57.4 percent 2) No - 42.6 percent (skip to Question 9)

8. Do you know the name of the new party?

1) Yes, the Democratic Progressive Party - 51.7 percent  
2) No - 48.3 percent

9. What is your view on the nonparty figures' declaration to organize a party?

1) Approve - 30 percent 2) Disapprove - 40.1 percent (answer Question 10)  
3) Don't know/no opinion - 30 percent

10. Should it be banned by the government? (for those expressing disapproval in Question 9)

1) Yes - 50.5 percent 2) No - 18.4 percent 3) No opinion/don't know - 31.1 percent

**Survey of Views by Educational Levels on Organizing a Party (percentage)**

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion	Total
College	42.7	39.3	17.9	100
Middle School	23.3	46.6	30.1	100
Elementary School	25.5	29.1	45.5	100
Illiterate	20.1	10.0	70.0	100

TAIWAN

ZHOUSHAN RECEIVES 2,000 TAIWAN FISHERMEN IN 1986

HK210601 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0205 GMT 16 Jan 87

[Text] Hongzhou, 16 Jan (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--More than 200 fishing boats and 2,000 fishermen from Taiwan came to take shelter from typhoons, to repair their boats, and to get supplies at Shenjiamen and Fengshan ports in Zhoushan Prefecture, Zhejiang Province in 1986. This was 27 percent over that in 1985 and exceeded any previous year.

During their stay in Zhoushan, the Taiwan fishermen were received by the local government and the Taiwan Compatriots Reception Center. Workers and receptionists of various relevant departments earnestly solved problems for the Taiwan compatriots so that they might safely avoid being hit by the three typhoons.

The commercial departments selected the best cigarettes, wines, fruits, traditional Chinese medicines, medicines prepared by a pharmacy, tonics, cakes, native products, vegetables, and other commodities most liked by the Taiwan fishermen and sent them to the boats. The total value of these commodities was over 200,000 yuan. They also supplied the fishermen with 780 tons of fresh water.

Medical workers also gave free medical treatment to 152 Taiwan fishermen and performed operations on 4 of them who were seriously injured or ill.

Workers in the shipyards repaired 75 boats for the Taiwan fishermen so that they were able to catch fish safely and in good time. Some Taiwan fishermen also went to offer incense in Putuo Shan, a sacred place of Buddhism, and to visit Xikou, Fenghua while their boats were under repair.

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